

The **HISTORICAL BULLETIN**

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The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A Service Quarterly for Teachers and Students of History

Vol. XXXIII

January, 1955

No. 2

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AN APPRAISAL OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE, MARSHALL PLAN AND POINT FOUR

SISTER M. FLORIAN VOLKERDING
DUBOURG HIGH SCHOOL

The Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and Point Four are three attempts to make George F. Kennan's policy of "containment" effective. Briefly, the Truman Doctrine appropriated military aid to Greece and Turkey to resist Communist-inspired guerrilla warfare in the former and a "softening-up" campaign in the latter. The Marshall Plan contributed United States economic assistance to a rebuilding of a war-torn world. Point Four is an effort to aid underdeveloped areas to rise from centuries of ignorance and poverty. Each program was motivated, no doubt, by real humanitarian ideals but in each, also, we shall find other motives. The United States hoped to prevent countries from falling under Communist control and at the same time to improve its own economy.

Two years after Greece had been liberated from the Nazis and restored to freedom, the Greek people were again in danger of losing their independence. This time the danger came from Communist-led guerrillas. Most of these guerrillas were Greeks, but they could not have kept a civil war raging without active and substantial support.

On December 3, 1946, the Greek government charged the governments of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with encouraging and assisting the guerrilla movement in Greece. On December 19, the Security Council of the United Nations, by a unanimous decision, voted to establish a Commission of Investigation to examine the facts and to report concerning the troubled situation along the Northern Greek border.

Twice before, the Greek question had been brought before the Security Council. The first time had come when the U.S.S.R. charged that the presence of British troops in Greece was a threat to international peace and security. The Security Council had not agreed with the Soviet thesis and the charge was not sustained.

A second time Greece had been brought to the attention of the Security Council on August 12, 1946. This time the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs charged that the policy of the British government had produced a situation in the Balkans endangering international peace and security. Once more the Security Council

declined to accept the thesis of the Soviet agent in the person of the Ukrainian Minister.

Just what was this British policy to which they were objecting? Churchill, by his insistence on restoration of the Greek monarchy, forced the Greeks to choose between Communism and a very real reaction. They would have liked to see a moderate government established, but the simple fact was that the extreme right and the extreme left were the strongest and best organized factions in Greece. The royalists made much capital of the excesses perpetrated by the Greek Communists and of the Slav menace from the North. They played the theme of Greek nationalism, gaining favor at home for defending the country on the diplomatic front against Soviet attacks. Unfortunately, the royalist government proved incapable of coping with the country's pressing problems. Its program of suppressing the EAM bandits, the Communist resistance movement, while tolerating right gangsterism gave color to the Soviet charges of fascism. Its appetite for territory, though partly a genuine reflection of the insecurity felt by the Greek people, was greedy to the point of justifying the charge of imperialism.

The Greek pot had continued to boil since the Security Council's debate on the Ukrainian charges in September, 1946.¹

For a third time, then, the question of a disturbed Greece had come before the Security Council. This time the democratic forces of the Greeks made the charges. Upon Greece's already weak and unstable economy the war and the turmoil subsequent to the war had a devastating effect. The capacity of democratic forces within Greece to maintain themselves against organized Communist dissidents had been greatly weakened, largely because of the conditions upon which the spirit of Communism thrives, viz., poverty and instability which had been constantly present in Greece since the Axis occupation. Well-organized Communist groups exploited these conditions and tried to turn them to their advantage. The guerrilla warfare, which is such a strain upon a country's recovery, was not a simple attempt at revolution by dissatisfied Greeks.

On the contrary, the UN Commission of Investigation concerning frontier incidents found clear evidence that foreign governments are by various means assisting in

¹ John C. Campbell, *The United States in World Affairs 1945-47* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 474.

efforts to overthrow the Greek Government, . . . In the event of further economic deterioration and governmental paralysis, Communist forces under foreign influence might well increase in strength until they are able to take over the country against the will of the majority of the Greek people and institute a totalitarian government.²

The Commission of Investigation had to deal not merely with the investigation of past frontier incidents but with a currently explosive situation. The weakness of the Greek Government was patent. It could not restore order in the country by force, nor had it been able to establish any kind of political and economic stability despite the presence of British troops and British financial assistance. Greece had never recovered from the devastations of the war. The British Government had poured over \$500,000,000 into Greece since its liberation. In 1946, the United States had granted a \$25,000,000 Export-Import Bank Loan and \$68,700,000 in credits for the purchase of surplus property and ships. UNRRA, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, had supplied Greece with some \$350,000,000 worth of supplies. Yet, Greece did not have much to show for this. Its merchant marine, destroyed during the war, could not recover in so short a time. Its best agricultural districts were the scene of incessant guerrilla warfare. The government took no adequate measures to control inflation or to conserve foreign exchange.

The Security Council discussed the report made by the Committee of Investigation after seven months of observation. Three times the Security Council, U.S.S.R. and Poland dissenting, approved proposals looking toward a solution of the troubled situation along the northern frontiers of Greece. Three times the Soviet representative cast his veto athwart the well-defined will of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Security Council. Finally the question was tabled but there was no indication that the UN had finished with the problem. Mr. Herschel Johnson, our representative at the UN, stated,

We wish to make it very clear, that we shall not hesitate to exhaust every available means within the framework of the charter of the UN to maintain international peace and to provide Greece with whatever protection she may need in the future.³

² Department of State, *The Greek Aid Program*, (Sept. 1950).

³ Department of State, *The UN and the Problem of Greece*. (Sept. 1947), p. 40.

Washington had not been unaware of the difficult economic situation in Greece. It had agreed to the sending of a mission by the FAO in May, 1946, to study Greek agriculture and related industries and to make recommendations for their rehabilitation and long-range development. The mission recommended in November, an international program of action by various agencies including the Economic and Social Council, the FAO, the World Bank and the Monetary Fund. International loans were suggested, starting with an initial commitment of \$100,000,000 for 1947-48. This was a program which could not even be started without long negotiations. The international agencies were not in a position to act with dispatch. After receiving an urgent plea from the Greek Government, the United States decided to send an economic mission of its own to Greece. Its principal assignment was to estimate the extent of foreign or international aid Greece would need in order to put the necessary measures into effect.

While this American economic mission and the UN commission investigating border incidents were still in Greece, and before they had made any recommendations, the Truman administration decided to take direct and decisive action. Word had come from London, late in February, 1947, that Great Britain, staggering under an economic crisis at home and forced to reduce its foreign commitments, would be unable to continue economic support of Greece and Turkey after the end of March and planned to withdraw the 16,000 remaining British troops from Greece shortly thereafter.

The British retreat from Greece and Turkey was brought on by the necessity of getting out from under an economic burden which the government felt could not be sustained. It was also a reflection of changing ideas in London on Britain's strategic position and requirement. One such idea was that, with the loss of India, the Mediterranean lifeline would no longer be of such great significance to Britain as in the past. A strong position in Africa (based on the Kenya-Nigeria-South Africa triangle) might be better suited to new methods of warfare; certainly, the political and economic difficulties there would be mild compared to those involved in holding positions in the Near East. The withdrawal from Greece and Turkey might not have been so easily decided if London had not felt reasonably sure that the United States would step in.⁴

⁴ Campbell, *The United States in World Affairs 1945-47*, pp. 447-448.

Meanwhile, it had become clear that Turkey was on the Soviet list of nations marked for softening up and eventual domination. In 1945, the Soviet Government had announced that it would not renew its twenty-year-old friendship treaty with Turkey. Next the Soviets demanded a share in the control and defense of the Dardanelles—an old Russian ambition. Third, the Russians revived an old claim to two large provinces of eastern Turkey. Finally, the Kremlin launched a propaganda campaign against what it called the reactionary Turkish Government and urged the Turkish people to rebel.

In the face of these pressures, the Turks stood firm in their determination to maintain their independence. They continued to keep their army mobilized following World War II, putting a severe strain on the national economy. In addition they were faced with the problem of modernizing their armed forces in order to increase their effectiveness. This was a burden too great for Turkey to bear. Help was sought from the United States and Great Britain.

The United States had three possible choices. It could take over prime responsibility in the Greek-Turkish situation, it could urge the assumption of that responsibility by the UN, or it could let events take their course.

. . . if the United States did not fill the power vacuum to be left by the British withdrawal, Russia would.⁵

The State Department recommended full help to Greece and Turkey. The President agreed that Stalin must be stopped. Greece was a good place to initiate George F. Kennan's policy of containment. So, the President, Harry S. Truman, and the Secretary of State, George Marshall, chose the first alternative. The second they regarded as unrealistic, the third as disastrous to our strategic position and our influence throughout the world. But would Congress, would the people, back a radical departure from a tradition 160 years old? They gave Congressional leaders advance notice of the decision to devote American influence and money to support the Greek and Turkish Governments against their internal and foreign enemies. The immediate problem was not the economic recovery and development of Greece and Turkey. Half of the \$300,000,000 proposed for aid to Greece and all the \$100,000,000 proposed for Turkey was expected to be used for military expenditures. What was considered urgent was to

⁵ Edgar Ansel Mowrer, *The Nightmare of American Foreign Policy*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 214.

give those nations the hope of withstanding Soviet pressure, which increased as the economic situation grew worse.

In its simplest terms, although no military guarantees were to be given, it was a decision to place the strategic frontier of the United States in the hills of Macedonia and on the Bosphorus. This policy would be implemented through military and economic missions and loans which, in their purpose of aiding our own national security, amounted to a kind of lend-lease to governments which were opposing the Soviet Union. Congress recognized that it was in the self-interest of the United States to prevent the fall of Greece and Turkey.

This was the situation when on March 12, 1947, President Truman went before a joint session of the Congress with a proposal to send military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. This proposal was based, as the President said, on a

. . . frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the Security of the United States. . . . I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. . . . The free peoples of the earth look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world, and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.⁶

He continued, distinguishing between totalitarian and free government. The one is based on the will of a minority and relies on terror, the other is based upon the will of the majority and is characterized by free institutions.

The Truman Doctrine, as the speech is known to history, rocked the world. The majority of Americans, though puzzled, approved. However,

Russia-Firsters, Wallaceites, and isolationists were livid with indignation. Sentimentalists who hoped to move the Kremlin by tears and prayer complained that you "couldn't stop an idea by force." . . . Economaniacs and "foreign-policy-begins-at-home" boys were shocked that the President talked human freedom rather than "economic democracy" or social reform. . . . Eighteenth-century minds could not forgive Truman's abandonment of the traditional methods of traditional

⁶ Lawrence H. Chamberlain and Richard C. Snyder, *American Foreign Policy*. (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1948) pp. 568-573.

diplomacy. A majority of citizens missed an appeal to the UN.⁷

Senator Vandenburg fixed up the last point. The UN, he explained, was not in a position to extend help but we made it clear that we would step out of the major role as soon as the UN could take over—a time which never came. On May 22, 1947, the "Act to Provide Assistance for Greece and Turkey" was signed by the President.

The strong language of the message, which may have been intended to shock the American people into a realization of the importance of the issues, gave the impression that the policy of co-operation with the Soviet Union had been given up and that war was inevitable. This, however, was not the case since the policy of containment had not only the negative purpose of holding strategic positions for reasons of security but also the positive aim of showing the Soviet Government on what terms cooperation was possible.

A policy of firmness backed by power and financial resources, in removing all doubts about where the United States stood might be the indispensable preliminary to a general settlement with the Soviet Union.⁸

The President's message on March 12, ushered in a comprehensive discussion, in Congress and throughout the country, of the fundamentals of American foreign policy. For the first time since the public debate on joining a world security organization, the country was faced with a major decision concerning its role in world affairs. A decision either way involved risks. Aid to Greece and Turkey now might mean aid to other countries later.

Has the Truman Doctrine paid dividends? We shall let facts decide. In the spring of 1950, three years after the Truman Doctrine had been announced, the Greek picture had profoundly changed. The guerrillas had been beaten and had vanished, the country was at peace and on the way to recovery. Railroads were operating, highways were passable, bridges had been restored. Forty-thousand new homes had been built. Agriculture was above pre-war levels, thousands of acres of new land were under cultivation.

Three years of military assistance had also put Turkey in a much stronger position. Modern equipment and training produced a much more effective military establishment from the

⁷ Mowrer, *The Nightmare of American Foreign Policy*, p. 214.

⁸ Campbell, *The United States in World Affairs 1945-47*, p. 480.

point of combat capability and at the same time made possible a very considerable cut in armed forces. During 1950 the people of Greece and Turkey held free elections and voted new governments into office.

What had been the cost of the program for at least the first three years?

In round figures, the sum total of our aid, both civilian and military was about 1.8 billion dollars, somewhat less than 1% of the American national income of 1950.⁹

If Greek independence had been compromised or if the Greek Government had been overthrown—the same may be said of Turkey—by a militant minority, the resulting situation would have had profoundly disturbing psychological effects in many countries throughout the world. Foundations of the UN would have been shaken and the faith of all nations in the ability of democracy to maintain itself would have been seriously diminished.

The Truman Doctrine stands as an important milestone on the long road to organization of the world for security. Even though it was a unilateral declaration by the United States, it was part of a much larger fabric of security. It was followed by the Marshall Plan or the European Recovery Program (ERP), and in 1950 by the Point Four Program.

When the war ended a large proportion of Europe's industrial plants had been shattered, factories gutted, large sections of cities lay in ruins. Farmlands were torn and scarred, the transportation system was damaged to a point almost beyond repair, harbors were clogged with wreckage, banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions had ceased to exist. Machinery was worn out or obsolete, inflation brought a disrupted trade because farmers were not interested in exchanging goods for worthless money. Governments were forced to import food with the result that precious credit needed for the purchase of capital goods was quickly exhausted. Europe's economy was falling apart. Meanwhile, the people struggled grimly to secure the bare essentials of food, clothing, and shelter. Cold, hungry, filled with despair, they were fighting a hopeless battle. Even nature conspired against them, the winter of 1946-47 being one of the worst in decades. The summer followed with a drought. Unaided by outside countries, Europe could not check the downward trend of its economy. Europeans needed food, clothing, shelter, seeds,

⁹ Department of State, *Our Foreign Policy*. (Sept., 1950), p. 47.

agricultural equipment, industrial machinery to rebuild homes and factories, and raw materials to feed the machinery.

These materials were available in the United States. American production had undergone a phenomenal expansion during the war and so placed it in a position to assist Europe if they could find the money to buy it. Europeans did not have the money and they would not be able to get it until they could produce surplus goods to sell abroad. Before they could produce the goods they needed the monetary means to rebuild their farms and factories.

It was a vicious spiral down which more and more people of Europe, in spite of all their efforts, were being forced into destitution and misery.¹⁰

American leaders were alarmed. Europe had been our best customer. With our greatly expanded post-war industrial machine we needed European markets more than ever. If European purchases bogged down the American public would soon feel results. Factories would have to curtail production, profits and dividends would be reduced, unemployment would again threaten.

Not only was our prosperity threatened, our security was in jeopardy. Poverty provides excellent atmosphere for developments of war and revolutions. Unless the United States acted quickly and adequately, revolutions would sweep Europe. Hunger, insecurity, and uncertainty are conditions most favorable to the growth of totalitarianism, by whatever name it may be known. And, we had no doubt about the type of government which would replace the destroyed ones. The overthrow of European democracy would necessitate a complete revaluation of our international position. Such a situation might in time reduce the United States to a cultural, political and economic isolation.

The plain fact was that the American people were being confronted with the responsibilities of world leadership. Their moral obligation to help those nations that had suffered most from the war was clear and reasonable. As a leading member of the UN, they had pledged themselves to uphold the freedom and independence of their fellow members. And, not least important, self-interest demanded immediate action. Economically, politically, and strategically, Americans had much to lose by a failure to act.¹¹

¹⁰ Lewis Paul Todd, *The Marshall Plan*. (Economic Cooperation Administration, Washington, D. C.), p. 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

UNRRA had performed a major job in feeding the hungry and providing equipment for recovery. In addition to sending food and making loans, the United States had contributed liberally to UNRRA. It was evident, however, that such a program was not enough.

On June 5, 1947, in a speech delivered at Harvard, George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, focused the attention of the world upon this problem. In his address he declared that it was time for America to end relief and begin making Europe self-supporting. He promised the United States would do whatever it could to promote economic recovery in Europe. A new approach to the problem was suggested. Assistance must provide a cure rather than mere alleviation and relief. Only one condition for obtaining aid was imposed. Any country which wanted help from the United States would have to show a willingness to co-operate with its fellow nations.

In several respects the Marshall Plan differed from the Truman Doctrine.

First, it was not directed against Russia, but in Marshall's words, ". . . against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos." No military aid was to be given. Second, it did not by-pass the UN as a plan to be undertaken by the United States alone, since all nations (including even Russia) were invited to join. And third, it made the aid given by the United States conditional upon the utmost efforts of the participating nations to contribute their share to the general recovery.¹²

Reaction was immediate. Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain and Russia met in Paris to discuss ways and means for converting General Marshall's idea into a program. Mr. Molotov, the Russian representative, walked out of the conference and forbade the satellite countries to join in the program.

It became a Western European program only because the Soviet Union refused to allow any of the satellites to take part.¹³

The rejection of the United States' offer by the Soviet Union gave evidence that what that country sought was not economic and political stability in Western Europe but rather a prolongation of conditions conducive to a Soviet-dominated Europe, without military aggression.

¹² David S. Muzzey, *A History of Our Country*. (Chicago: Ginn and Co., 1950), p. 623.

¹³ Department of State, *Our Foreign Policy*, p. 66.

Foreign Ministers Bevin of Great Britain and Bidault of France immediately invited twenty-two additional European nations to meet them. In response to this invitation, representatives of all nations of Western Europe—except the Soviet Union's satellites—met to discuss their needs and to formulate a program of action. Headquarters for the sixteen co-operating countries were set up in Paris and a temporary organization, the Committee of European Economic Co-operation, was established. The name was later changed to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, the OEEC.

The OEEC set three goals. They were:

. . . increased production, internal stability, expanded trade . . . These three hinge on the steady growth of closer mutual co-operation. They provide useful yardsticks by which to measure the rate of European recovery. The factors of expanded trade and internal stability hinge on expanded production. All three factors are interdependent but production is basic.¹⁴

In an effort to bring about widespread economic and political collapse before the recovery program could be gotten underway, the Cominform, a Moscow-controlled organization, had promoted disruptive actions in many of the participating countries, using all the known Communistic techniques of infiltration, political strikes, sabotage, and intimidation. Czechoslovakia, which was openly reluctant to stay out of the European Recovery Plan, had its democratic government abruptly supplanted by one more amenable to Soviet objectives. Satellite countries, in general, were drawn more tightly into the Soviet orbit.

Soviet opposition was particularly damaging in Germany where it not only thwarted economic recovery but created a deep and genuine fear of Soviet aggression. Fear tends to paralyze recovery and increase political instability. Victimized governments are unable to undertake bold constructive action because attention must be concentrated on security and self-defense.

Meanwhile, the United States was also studying practical means for setting up the program. Profound studies were made. The Harriman committee of prominent citizens, headed by the Secretary of Commerce, studied Europe's needs and America's ability to meet them. The Krug committee of government specialists studied the effect of the plan on American resources. The President's Council of economic advisers studied its impact on

¹⁴ Department of State, *Foreign Affairs Outlines*, "Progress in European Recovery," (Spring, 1949), p. 1.

United States economy. Long congressional debates followed. On April 3, 1948, the President signed the bill which created the "Economic Co-operation Administration," the administrative body of the European Recovery Program.

To realize the true impact of the ERP in the course of European history, we must picture the probable situation had there been no recovery program. Before the program was initiated, major European nations stood in imminent danger of economic collapse and political upheaval which might have marked the end of Western civilization. It is a fact today that West European countries are still free. None of the countries which participated in the program has collapsed or capitulated to totalitarianism. Within one year's time after the plan had been put into operation there was a rebirth of hope and confidence. Western Europe had once more taken heart and the paralysis of despair had been broken. The trend toward recovery was very marked. Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, head of the ECA, observed,

It is the fact of the Marshall Plan aid which is giving to the free peoples of Europe a continuing determination to resist totalitarianism and remain free. It is the new spirit of co-operation that has come to Europe as a direct result of the Marshall Plan that offers us the best hope of peace.¹⁵

By this time the practical American is asking, "Just what has the Marshall Plan cost the United States in cold dollars?" The ECA authorized a four-year program of aid and was allotted \$17,000,000,000. Paul Hoffman was made administrator of the ECA and Averell Harriman was appointed roving commissioner to Europe. It was his duty to check on the efforts which the countries were making to carry out their part of the bargain. Each year, Congress reviewed the program and its achievements, then made the necessary appropriations. In the first three years it appropriated a little more than \$12,000,000,000—\$6,000,000,000 for the first fifteen months, \$3,800,000,000 for the second year, and \$2,250,000,000 for the third year. It will be noted that each of the appropriations has been markedly lower than the preceding one, and it was expected that the pattern would be followed during the final year of the program. Meanwhile the Korean emergency arose and it has altered the picture.

Surprisingly, the American contribution has been only about 25% of the total cost of European recovery. Seventy-five per cent

¹⁵ Department of State, *Foreign Affairs Outlines*, "The United States and European Recovery," (Autumn, 1947), p. 2.

of the burden has been borne by the European taxpayer and worker. An average expenditure of between four to five billion dollars has enabled Europe to increase production by approximately \$30,000,000,000 in a year. Hoffman maintained that the recovery program did not cost the American taxpayer anything.

He based this statement on the conviction that but for the economic and political revival of free Europe, the United States would have had to spend many billions more on armament.¹⁶

The practical American will further ask, "Has America benefitted by this program?" We can continue to quote the same source:

. . . American aid saved Europe not only from economic collapse but also from Communist domination.¹⁷

The revival of European economy has meant more jobs and better living for America. The rise in European activity has been increasingly beneficial to the American economy.

The more Europe produces, the more it can sell abroad, and the more it sells abroad the more dollars it will accumulate for purchases in the United States.¹⁸

Economic assistance has preserved Western European countries as American allies. The threat of isolation has been averted. Our security for the present, at least, is not in jeopardy. The threat of Communism has temporarily been checked.

The Point Four Program was first proposed by President Truman in his inaugural address on January 20, 1949. He assured the world of steadfast adherence to our present foreign policies. We would continue to give unfaltering support to the UN and related agencies, we would continue our program for world recovery and we would strengthen freedom loving nations against the dangers of aggression. Then he added a fourth point or a fourth major pillar to the edifice of our foreign policy. It is from this fourth point that the program takes its name. Said the President,

"We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. . . . we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their

¹⁶ Department of State, *Our Foreign Policy 1952*, (March, 1952), p. 49.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, p. 8.

aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. Our own aim should be to help the free peoples of the world through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens."¹⁹

He invited other countries to pool their technological resources in this undertaking, emphasizing that the facilities of the UN and its specialized agencies should be used whenever possible. We have never claimed a monopoly of technical skills. Recognizing also that the program could not be one solely or even mainly of governmental action, the United States would, Truman said, seek the co-operation of private institutions and other organizations, of business, finance, agriculture, labor, scientific, educational and other groups both at home and abroad, to complement and reinforce the governmental program.

The President's proposal was translated into law when Congress passed the Act for International Development in May, 1950. It was translated into action when the Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA) was created within the Department of State in September, 1950, to administer the Point Four Program.

What prompted the President to announce this program? Is there a real need for it? Two-thirds of the world's population live in economically underdeveloped areas. Primitive agricultural methods and poor transportation not only limit the food supply, often the diet does not include proper food elements. Malnutrition and starvation are not unusual. Lack of sanitation and medical attention cause large percentages to fall prey to preventable diseases. Their production capacity is consequently greatly reduced. Life expectancy is 30 years—a span which falls far short of the more than sixty years which modern medicine has made possible.

These peoples in recent years have been stirred by a growing awareness of the possibilities of human advancement. They are seeking a fuller life and striving to realize their full capabilities. They aspire toward a higher standard of living and better health and physical well-being. Under present circumstances their poverty is not merely a handicap for themselves. By leaving them unable to fulfill their reasonable aspirations, their misery makes them fertile ground for an ideology which

¹⁹ Department of State, *Point Four*. (January, 1950), p. 1.

will hold out to them promise, however false, of means toward a better life.²⁰

The last sentence of the above quotation is significant. In evaluating Point Four, particular emphasis must be given to its relation to the present day struggle for the hearts and minds of men being waged by conflicting philosophies. One philosophy promises men material security only at the cost of unconditional surrender of his human dignity and personal freedoms. The other philosophy, which is exemplified by Point Four, also seeks material security for all men, not as an absolute end, but as a means to a greater non-material end of personal fulfillment, and denies that the way to make men free is first to enslave him. Seeking a more effective utilization of human and natural resources, this concept is the direct antithesis of the totalitarian philosophies which in their application have brought about only degradation and exploitation of man and his labors.

The Point Four Program springs from the recognition that desperate poverty and the absence of hope for the future make men easy prey to the promises of totalitarian systems, which thrive on the misery and unrest of human beings.

The chief defense against Communism and tyranny lies, therefore, in a powerful and concerted attack on poverty, disease and ignorance and their attendant miseries.²¹

Development of these areas must be based primarily on national resources and must come largely from the people concerned. Assistance from abroad will help but real achievement will depend upon the determination of the people involved. We may say, then, that resources are essential but the resourcefulness of the people is more important.

Assistance may be in the form of technical training needed by these countries. It may be in the form of loans or grants to finance supplies. Point Four has taken both forms of help. The first means the use of skills and scientific knowledge to help the people raise their standards of living. The other makes possible large-scale development requiring sizable amounts of money in the form of investment capital. The underdeveloped areas can supply some, but not all of the necessary capital. Foreign capital is needed and it can come from three sources, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Export-Import

²⁰ Department of State, *Foreign Affairs Outlines*, "The Point Four Program," (Spring, 1949). p. 1.

²¹ Department of State, *Our Foreign Policy 1952*, p. 54.

Bank of the United States, and from private banks and investors.

Today about 1,500 technicians from every corner of the United States are working in thirty-five countries of the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Whatever their job—forestry, livestock improvement, land reclamation, mining—their task is to teach, to train, to demonstrate the special skills which raise living standards and promote the lasting development of the country. Point Four is reaching more than one billion people. Careful study has revealed that eight out of ten people are ill-fed, seven out of ten are chronically ill, only three out of ten can read or write.

Private investors have not been eager to risk sending their capital abroad because of uncertainties and tensions in the world. The United States Government is trying in various ways to reduce some of the risks. The State Department is negotiating new treaties with foreign governments, guaranteeing certain kinds of protection to American investors, so that they will not be discriminated against but will receive the same treatment as nationals of the country. New laws are being considered which would allow the Export-Import Bank to sell an investor certain kinds of insurance specifically against expropriation, confiscation, and seizure and against the inability to convert local currencies—meaning inability to take profits out of the country.

One may ask, "Just how does this program operate?" The United States gives Point Four assistance only at the request of a government. It offers its skills only where they are plainly wanted. The terms of co-operation are drawn up legally and then officials and technicians of both countries discuss the nature of the jobs to be done and the contributions needed. TCA then recruits the best technicians to be found. American technicians do not tell other nations what to do. They study the existing problems and then put their knowledge at the disposal of the people who adapt it to their own needs and customs. Usually they learn as much as they teach because scientific knowledge cannot be given away, it is shared. It is impossible to set a deadline for finishing jobs but every technician tries to work himself out of a job by training other people to take over. First things come first. In countries where the majority of the people suffer hunger, disease and poverty, activity will be in the fields of health, sanitation, agriculture and education.

It is a long-range program, for the ills of centuries die slowly.²²

Again the cost of operating the program will interest the taxpayer. The entire Point Four Program for the three-year period ending July 1, 1953, will have cost the American people \$156,675,000—less than the price of one battleship. The cost per American has been \$2.17. The main cost is for salaries and expenses of technicians, supplies, and equipment.

Point Four is not a give-away program. It is a simple "grass-roots" way to help people to help themselves.²² Point Four aid has been very effective.

"In Liberia . . . farm families in one area have raised their incomes from \$5.00 to \$25.00, and in another area, from \$50.00 to \$300.00. In India, the yield of potatoes in one area has been increased from 119 bushels per acre to 235, and wheat from 13 bushels to 26. Paraguay is another example. In 1942, when the pre-Point Four work began, farmers were using wooden plows; in 1948 the Government of Paraguay ordered \$2,500,000 worth of modern equipment. . . ."²³

It has the power to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action . . . against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery and despair.²⁴

Point Four is humanitarian in scope but there are sound economic reasons behind it. We know that with rising material income and greater industrial activity, other nations can produce more and sell more. The result is that the world trade as a whole improves. Our share in this expansion of trade creates markets for American businessmen and farmers and jobs for American workers.

Point Four contributes to American security, also. As it strengthens the independence and stability of countries where it operates, it helps the free world in its struggle against Communist inroads.

Over and above these self interests, we can say that there is an idealistic motive of wanting to share a real and lasting peace through the attainment of brotherhood among nations.

Point Four is the vehicle on which scientific knowledge, technical invention and material progress become traveling companions with our ideals, our hopes and our aspirations for achieving real brotherhood among men.²⁵

²² Department of State, *Our Foreign Policy 1952*.

²³ Department of State, *Facts About Point Four*. (April, 1952).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁵ Department of State, *Foreign Affairs Outlines*, "The Point Four Program," p. 6.

²⁶ Department of State, *Point Four*. (February, 1953), p. 11.

A NOTE OF EXPLANATION ABOUT MANUSCRIPTA

MANUSCRIPTA is designed to be a news medium for the dissemination of information concerning the work of the KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS FOUNDATION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE HISTORIC DOCUMENTS AT THE VATICAN LIBRARY. The first number was sent gratis to about seven hundred academic libraries, learned societies and individuals known to be interested in the FOUNDATION'S progress in microfilming and making available in America the Vatican Manuscript Collection. It was at first believed that MANUSCRIPTA would appear approximately quarterly in an inexpensive form. Response to MANUSCRIPTA'S publication has been surprisingly enthusiastic. Request for the first number far outran available copies. Notice of its publication was given rather extensive space in SPECULUM, the LIBRARY OF CONGRESS BULLETIN and many other publications and learned journals. It is, therefore, now foreseen that MANUSCRIPTA probably should develop into a medium for the publication of articles which would assist scholars in using the Vatican Manuscripts as well as of studies made at the FOUNDATION'S DEPOSITORY.

If MANUSCRIPTA is issued on a subscription basis it is planned to offer articles in the fields of interest contained in the Vatican Manuscript Collection, written by scholars doing research either at the FOUNDATION'S DEPOSITORY or in such primary material as would be allied to the Vatican Manuscript Collection. It is proposed to organize a board of editors competent to insure valuable scholarship for MANUSCRIPTA. On a subscription basis MANUSCRIPTA would probably be issued twice a year. It would continue to contain news items regarding codices added to the DEPOSITORY as well as scholarly articles.

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Rev. Joseph P. Donnelly S.J.
Secretary, Knights of Columbus Foundation
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St. Louis 3, Mo.

TWELFTH CENTURY DRAMA

SISTER MARY FAITH SCHUSTER
DONNELLY COLLEGE

Medieval play history as a whole has long been investigated by many scholars,¹ but in their studies the twelfth century is too much interwoven with other years to permit a clear view of its drama. This paper, laying claim to the statement of little that is new, is an attempt to isolate representative twelfth century drama, and to summarize its origin, extent, characteristics, and possible influence.

There may have been no Shakespeare in the twelfth century, but there was a stage and there was a drama. If one were to have made a sort of Gulliver's travel over England alone during the twelfth century, he would have come upon at least four different varieties of drama. These would include a three-scene liturgical play at the close of Matins in a church or abbey; an episodic play on the fall of man, *Le Jeu d'Adam*, in Anglo-Norman vernacular, staged out-of-doors on one of England's green hills;² a play of St. Nicholas in the refectory or recreation room of an abbey or castle; and a saint's play of St. Katherine, presented in the open air not far from London.³ Had he travelled overseas, he would at least have come upon a Resurrection play in Jerusalem and a Passion play in Italy. And if he were curious, he might well have asked: Are these productions the result of a continued or sudden interest in the Greek and Roman classics, or do they have another origin?

¹ See especially Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 2 vols.; E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), 2 vols.; George R. Coffman's summary of scholarship on medieval drama, *Speculum*, VI (1931), 610-617; and Dom Jude Wodermann, "The Source of the Easter Play," *Orate Fratres*, XX (1946), 262-272.

² All medieval plays in England were called *miracula*. The term "mystery" is continental and does not occur in English until Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays*, 1744. The notion of calling Scriptural plays "mystery" and saints' plays "miracle" is not of medieval English origin. See Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, II, 105.

³ Originally composed in Latin or in French, the *Ludus de Sancta Katharina*, probably performed about 1110, is not extant. Matthew Paris in his *Vitae Abbatum St. Albani*, published in London, 1684, records its production. For his text, see George R. Coffman, "The Miracle Play in England," *SP*, XVI (1919), 56. The familiarity with which Matthew writes suggests that such "miracle" plays were common by the thirteenth century in which he makes his observation, if not already in the twelfth.

Peering through the ages of medieval drama for "some glimmerings of the brilliant torchlight of Greek tragedy," says A. W. Pollard, "is largely a disappointing process."⁴ Medieval drama owes almost nothing to classical Greece and Rome;⁵ but it does owe something to dramatic practices surviving after drama died of its own excesses in Rome,⁶ something to medieval entertainers and to that popular instinct for drama which is never absent, and a great deal to the medieval Church. The parents of medieval drama were not somber-faced Greek tragedians. This statement does not minimize the fact that when Renaissance English dramatists, rich with their own medieval inheritance, met with Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and their critic, Aristotle, the result was as enriching for drama as was the fusion of Christian thought with that of Plato and Aristotle for philosophy. But the source of modern drama was not the Dionysian festival; it was preeminently the "ardent faith of the Middle Ages,"⁷ the "heart of the Catholic Church."⁸

⁴ Pollard remarks: "At the outset of his enquiries almost every student of the modern drama is found instinctively peering through long centuries of darkness for some glimmerings of the brilliant torchlight of Greek Tragedy. In this pious desire to connect new things with old, to link together the names of Aeschylus and Shakespeare, the services of a motley crew are called into requisition, in which poets, philosophers, saints, mimes, jugglers, monks, nuns, bishops, and tradesfolk have all to play their part; but the pedigree is like that of many a modern genealogy, clear at the beginning and the end, with a huge hiatus gaping between." See *English Miracle Plays Moralities and Interludes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), p. xi.

⁵ Medieval scholars knew there had been a classical drama; Saint John Chrysostom had read 39 plays of Aristophanes, we are told, and Saint Augustine recognized the place of classical drama in a classical education (*De Civ. Dei* ii. 8, P.L. xxxii. 683). The German nun Roswitha in the tenth century had written six plays in conscious imitation of the style of Terence.

⁶ Marcus Aurelius, emperor from 161-180 A.D., averted his eyes to a state-paper or book during Roman plays, lamenting that the high lessons of comedy had sunk to mimic dexterity. Tertullian, in the third century; church councils in the fourth; Jerome, Augustine, and Orosius in the fifth, bewailed the shamefulness of the current *spectacula*. See Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I, 10, 12, 21.

⁷ Gustave Cohen, *La Grande Clarte du Moyen Age* (New York: Editions de la Maison Francaise, Inc., 1943), p. 81.

⁸ Allardyce Nicoll, *The Development of the Theatre* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1927), pp. 62-63. The only voice challenging this view was that of Oscar Cargill, *Drama and Liturgy* (New York: Columbia University, 1930). Cargill's position was reviewed by George Coffman, *Speculum*, VI (1931), 610-617.

It is difficult to trace the origin of all twelfth century plays, since not all of them have left discoverable traces. The saints' plays, of which the *Play of St. Katherine* was an example, may well have sprung from the desire to celebrate the feast of a king or of an abbot.⁹ And while we have no record of the performance of morality plays during the century, Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of St. Victor may have contributed to their development by representing, in their explanations of a psalm text, Mercy and Peace debating in Heaven against Truth and Righteousness for the forgiveness of man.¹⁰

It is easier to choose from among the liturgical plays attached to Matins and Vespers and to trace the growth of a type which had achieved some artistic perfection by the twelfth century, and which may have influenced the cyclic plays of later centuries.¹¹ This form, the best developed of the medieval plays, took its beginnings within the Divine Office of the Church. It is a mistaken view of the Mass which has led some scholars to look beyond discoverable evidence and find the origins of actual drama in the Mass itself.¹² The Irish monk who brought the germ of "tropes" or verbal embellishments for musical elaboration of Introit melodies to St. Gall in Switzerland did stimulate two Swiss Benedictines, Tutilo and Notker, to compose verbal elaborations to precede the Introit and follow the Graduale. But this enrichment, although it led to the "Sequences" now found on the great feasts of the Church, never attached any drama to the Mass, which is intrinsically not drama but reality. Actually, it is

⁹ Stories of the saints had, of course, been popular at least since Gregory's *Dialogues* in the sixth century. The typical medieval hero was the saint; Charlemagne, we are told, was glorified more as saint than as warrior and king.

¹⁰ E. K. Chambers thinks the preaching orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may have furthered the growth of the morality play by their use of personification in preaching. The morality play itself seems not to have appeared until late in the fourteenth century.

¹¹ There were many liturgical plays and dramatic processions associated with the church worship, including a "Procession of Prophets" at Christmas time. See Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*. But the Easter play shows the greatest development and, it seems to me, the nearest approach to artistic merit.

¹² Sidney M. Clarke, for example, makes a misleading statement in remarking that the "cradle of English drama rested on the altar." See *The Miracle Play in England* (London: William Andrews & Co., no date), p. 5. The first stage in medieval days was not the altar but, as the evidence points, the aisles of Abbey churches at the close of monastic offices.

only when the "trope" is affixed to Matins, after the singing of the last response of the third Nocturn, that dramatic action, as evidenced by extant stage directions, begins.¹³

Ethelwold of Winchester, in his *Concordia Regularis* (973), gives directions for the performance of the four-line "Resurrection play" at the end of Easter Matins. Monks or clerics impersonating the Holy Women and the angels at the tomb, were to come out into the aisle to dramatize the following lines:

Quem queritus in sepulchro, Christicola?
Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, O caelicola.
Non est hic, surrexit, sicut predixerat; ite, nuntiate
*quia surrexit de sepulchro.*¹⁴

Ethelwold directs that the brethren who perform the lines come out into the aisle clothed in white, approaching the sepulchre "as if looking for someone." They represent the Holy Women, and are questioned by the "angel" at the sepulchre, in a "mild, sweet voice." The four lines have become an Easter play, a drama, with specific attempts at impersonation.

By the twelfth century, this early four-line drama affixed to the Easter Matins had undergone development both in composition and in staging. From one episode it had grown to three. Monks impersonating the Holy Women, the angel, the Apostles, and Christ Himself as the gardener, took character parts with solemn reverence, according to minute directions from the playwright.¹⁵ One of the finest of these Easter plays, found in a twelfth century manuscript of the Abbey of St. Benoit-sur-Loire at Fleury, France, dramatizes the coming of the Holy Women to the tomb, the visit of Peter and John, and the meeting of Mary with Christ.¹⁶

By the twelfth century, too, drama had widened in extent. It was being staged not only in monastic and cathedral choirs, but

¹³ Dom Jude Woedermann believes that this occurred at some time in the tenth century, probably when Easter Matins were prescribed to be sung according to the Roman rather than the Benedictine Office, omitting the solemnity of singing the Gospel. See "The Source of the Easter Play," *Oratre Fratres*, XX (1946), 262-272.

¹⁴ The complete text of the trope is found in Karl Young, *op. cit.*, I, 205.

¹⁵ The inclusion of the three episodes, says Young, probably occurred late in the twelfth century. The text of the Fleury play is printed by Professor Young, *ibid.*, pp. 393-397.

¹⁶ This play has been translated into English by Robert Schenckkan and Kai Jurgensen, *Fourteen Plays for the Church* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1948). Like many works, it suffers in the translation.

in monastic refectories or recreation rooms and even in the out-of-doors, as was the case with the *Play of Saint Katherine* at Dunstable, near London, about 1110. In this movement out-of-doors, drama was presented in the vernacular, if the *Play of Adam* may be considered typical. And in at least one instance authors were signing their names to compositions, for a certain Hilarius, a student of Abelard and probably an Englishman, affixed his signature to plays about Lazarus and St. Nicholas about the year 1125.¹⁷

The characteristics of twelfth century drama indicate its close association with its original purpose: the enrichment of worship. The liturgical plays were solemn and reverent, constructed to close in a glorious climax with the *Te Deum* being chanted by the entire choir of monks, clerics, and "faithful." As an interlude in the Office immediately preceding the solemn hymn of praise sung on all Sundays and greater feasts, the play was designed to intensify worship and stimulate appreciation of the meaning of the feast. In the Fleury play, for example, the impersonator of Christ, who originally appeared as a gardener, comes out in a white dalmatic with "precious phylacteries on his head, a cross in his right hand, a text ornamented with gold in his left," to say to the women:

"Nolite timere vos; ite, nunciate fratribus meis ut eant in Galileam; ibi me videbunt, sicut predixi eis."

To this the entire choir responds: "Leo fortis, Christus, filius Dei!" Then the directions say: "Let the choir sing *Te Deum laudamus.*"

Another characteristic of twelfth century drama distinguishes it from the earliest tenth century manuscripts. An element of didacticism seems to have entered the play. In the Fleury manuscript, when John asks Peter why the grave clothes have been left behind, Peter, the head of the church and its official teacher, gravely answers: "Quia resurgentis non erant necessaria." This is the answer of a twelfth century theologian, not of the flustered Peter on Easter morning.

Elements of pathos and personal expressions of grief also distinguish the twelfth century plays from earlier texts. The playwright preserves Scriptural quotations exactly, but versifies the personal, sorrowful meditations of the Holy Women with a delicacy, detachment, and dignity which suggest genuine talent,

¹⁷ The plays of Hilarius have also been translated in *Fourteen Plays for the Church*.

and with rhythm similar to the Sequences of the Mass. Remote suggestions as to why the plays were ultimately removed from the Office may be found in directions that the monks wrap cloths around their heads, as indicative of the costume of the Holy Women, and in the introduction of such realistic scenes as the purchasing of ointment by the Marys.

Actual humorous scenes appear only in the out-of-door plays. In the *Play of Adam*, the writer directs that the devils "hold high revel" at the fall of Adam and Eve, and that they "make a great smoke arise out of their hell and call aloud to each other with glee . . . and clash their pots and kettles . . ."¹⁸ It is important to note that none of this revelry is suggested in the in-church liturgical play. Although in the later texts there is evidence of growing originality on the part of playwrights, the dominant note of the liturgical drama is enrichment of worship: reverent, exultant participation in the spirit of the feast.

Drama as we find it recorded in twelfth century Abbey manuscripts, in decrees, records, and extant plays, indicates, then, a vigorous faith, an appreciation of man's dramatic instinct, and some skill in creative writing. Its chief influence on later drama is the contribution of a philosophy of life and of an episodic structure rising to a climax. Both of these we find in the great cyclic plays of the fifteenth century. In the great literary Renaissance of the sixteenth century in England, dramatists were to keep the philosophy of life, although they perfected the structure with some attention to classical form. Shakespeare's heroes reflecting on the moral responsibility of their actions were more closely allied to the characters of medieval drama than to classical ones such as Oedipus.¹⁹ Macbeth, reflecting

If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well

It were done quickly

is related to the old Anglo-Norman Adam who "is to eat part of the apple; and after eating it he shall immediately recognize his sin and debase himself." Perhaps too in their suggestion of humor in the midst of solemnity, as in the *Play of Adam*, twelfth

¹⁸ E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, II, 81.

¹⁹ The Greek tragic heroes were aware of moral responsibility. But the heroes of Christian Renaissance plays, with the exception perhaps of Lear whom Shakespeare places in pagan times, were aware of the personal God to Whom they were responsible. The consciousness of such responsibility would, of course, have come to Shakespeare and other Christian dramatists from the Christian faith itself. But drama, including twelfth century drama, was a channel of the concept.

century playwrights were fore-runners of later Christian dramatists who, unlike the Greek tragedians, were able to see both comedy and tragedy as close associates in Christian life.

In content and structure, then, twelfth century drama seems to have had an influence on later plays. Its employment of the vernacular in out-of-door productions (in Germany the populace were permitted even within the church to chorus "*Christ erstanden ist*"), and its admission of personal emotion and of realism suggest qualities sometimes considered characteristic of a later "Renaissance." As drama, however, it was interested, not in following a past, or in building a future, but rather in enriching the worship of God and the lives of twelfth century Christians. And it is of interest both to the history of drama and to the history of mankind that the medieval ancestors of the crowds at the Globe in sixteenth century London were the congregations at Abbey churches on Easter morning, waiting, at the close of a dramatic interlude in the Divine Office, for the sign from the Choir Superior to join their *Te Dominum confitemur* to the exultant intonation of the *Te Deum*.

TEACHING ECONOMIC FORCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

RICHARD L. PORTER
ROCKHURST COLLEGE

It is a strange and disheartening experience to find among many professors and advanced students of general history such ignorance and even positive misunderstanding of what is meant by the economic interpretation of history. The ignorant have so oversimplified the term as to make it scientifically meaningless; others have gone to a different extreme by confusing interpretation with materialistic determination.

The first group seems generally convinced that an economic interpretation is merely an affirmation that the motives of history are in varying degrees influenced or dominated by greed, envy and the drive to achieve power and riches. It should be clearly understood that this observation, however true or untrue it may be, is the interpretation, not of an economist, but of a moralist and a pulpit orator. But the facts of life tell us that there is a material substratum which must underly all of human life and activity. How man adapts and uses material goods in his living is the subject matter of economic study.¹ Generations of economists have developed analytic tools and discovered patterns of interdependence which can be applied to the interpretation, and hence the better understanding, of the processes of economic life. Physics is not a science when men merely observe that some things fall and others rise up, nor when it is observed wars become more terrible or streets become less safe as the physical sciences progress. Rather physics becomes a science when the nature and interdependence of physical phenomena are adequately discovered and described. The historian is concerned with the phenomena of human social activity. One aspect of that activity is economic activity. The tools of economic science can aid him in the deeper understanding and explanation of human

¹ Most definitions of economics emphasize exchange and price. Although such definitions cover the greater number of economic problems, it would be philosophically more correct to define economics somewhat as follows: Economics is the social study of the relationship of man to his external material environment in so far as it is the material basis of the whole of his living. For a discussion of academic definitions of economics see L. M. Fraser, *Economic Thought and Language*, London, A. & C. Black, 1947, 21-45. Some of the problems of using these academic definitions in historical study are paralleled by the complaints of M. J. Herskovits, "Anthropology and Economics," in *Economic Anthropology*, New York, Knopf, 1952, 42-64.

social activity, the good and bad together with the indifferent. The great potential of the tools of economic analysis in historical interpretation is too little known and appreciated by too large a number of professional historians and advanced students of general history.

The second group is really falling into a trap set by their own reactions. The Marxian thesis did much to stimulate the study of economic history and the use of its theories to attempt an economic interpretation of history, but it represents the views of an extremist group. As is so often true, one extreme—in true dialectical fashion—generates other extremes; and the result is that many general historians identify an economic interpretation of history with materialistic determination, and thus reject both.² Economic interpretation in itself should imply merely that there is subject matter for analysis in every social process, both past and present, for which one specially trained in the techniques of the economist is peculiarly equipped to examine and explain. An example may help to clarify this point. It is a fairly popular procedure in American industry today to use "research teams" made up, for instance, of an economist, a production engineer, an experimental natural scientist, a theoretical natural scientist, etc. The reason for including many differently trained men in such a team is that it is recognized that the problem to be tackled includes subject matter which those different types of training have peculiarly equipped each man to analyze and interpret. Determinism, on the other hand, would imply, either that men with only one type of training could handle alone the whole job of analysis, or else that the subject matter of the several other specialists is so dependent in its causal relationships upon some one aspect that these other researchers would play logically subordinate rather than coordinate roles in the research team.

The Case of American History

Such ignorance and misunderstanding is particularly deplorable where the student of American development is concerned. The statement can be made and defended that the subject

² Marx's own interpretation is itself frequently oversimplified. The truth is that Marx never completely developed his theory in his writings. For a thorough sophisticated discussion of Marx, see M. M. Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, 2nd ed. rev., Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard, 1948. A more thorough exposition of a system of economic determinism than was ever written by Marx is Achille Loria, *The Economic Foundations of Society*, New York, Scribner's, 1904.

matter of American history offers more material which should be subjected to the tools of economic analysis and interpretation than does the history of almost any other modern nation. Indeed, there have been examples where the general historian of American development has been forced, by the dominance of economic material in his subject, to make interpretations without an adequate mastery of the tools of economic analysis.³

The force of this contention that the subject matter of economics dominates the course of American national development can be realized if we consider just two points: (1) the nature of historical processes, and (2) the trends in American historiography itself.

Every historical process is made up of three basic elements: tradition, authority, and the internal adaptation of parts.⁴ Tradition exerts an influence upon the present in a way similar to the influence of habits upon a person's individual actions. This is the basis for the favorite saying that the present is the child of the past. Authority is always present in a functioning social group, whether it be the explicit authority of formal laws and regulations or the implicit rule of public opinion. It is both a curb and a directing force. By the phrase internal adaptation of parts we are trying to signify that process of interaction and adjustment by which a complex of agents and forces work out the stream of concrete events which make up the raw material of historical study. Bring twenty or so strangers together where they have to work and live together many hours a day and such an "internal adaptation of parts" becomes quite evident. The group either sorts its personalities and develops into a work team, or it breaks up.

However, this complex of agents and forces must be further distinguished. These are usually explained, owing largely to the language and analytic procedure of the psychologist, in terms of various drives. One can distinguish between what may be called religious-ethical, aesthetic-intellectual, and economic drives. The human race is characterized by a drive for, and a general esteem

³ For a case in point, read A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson*. A "reinterpretation" of the "clash of social ideals" without a knowledge and appreciation of the functions of socio-economic institutions may reveal a "great simplicity" which is decidedly unreal!

⁴ The reader may wish to see how the historical process has been somewhat more fully and differently analyzed in an earlier article. See R. L. Porter, "What Is History?", HISTORICAL BULLETIN, 20 (1942), 27-28, 35-36.

of, moral perfection in human acts which is bound up with a sense of right and wrong, goodness in the sense of holiness, and justice. This is the drive which gives rise to religious and social movements, a quest for social justice, etc. The religious aspect of the Crusades [a good example of a complex stream of historical events!], modern Communism, and even patriotic nationalism, would be diverse examples of this category.⁵ There is also a corresponding drive towards knowledge and the beautiful. This category of drives is exemplified by the insatiable curiosity of man to know and by works of literature and other forms of art. Thirdly, there is the drive to acquire more of the material things necessary for human activity which is expressed in terms of income, standard of living, economic status, and the leisure necessary to pursue "the higher things of life."

This internal adaptation—"mechanism" and "organic development" are two names given to it in the past—is the main subject matter of pure social science.

There is no space here to attempt a discussion of the distinction of the various social sciences. However, it should be quite clear that history and that part of sociology which studies the culture of integral social groups, are particularly adapted to the study of tradition. Likewise political science and that part of sociology which studies social structure and functions, are peculiarly equipped to analyze the role of authority. Economics is one of the scientific disciplines adapted for the analysis of internal drives and change.

It must be emphasized that the use of this scheme implies that there never has been nor ever can be a history of any people which does not include the continuity of tradition, the curb and directing power of authority, and the internal stimuli and adaptation which result in religion, ethics, art, science, philosophy, as well as in economic activity. At this point, when the claim for a peculiar dominance of the economic in American history is advanced, it must be specially emphasized that every element mentioned above is present and active in the American scene. What is claimed is this: that the individualism of the American people lessened the role of authority; that the environment of new (and frequently primitive) conditions on the various "frontiers,"

⁵ To the social scientist any ideal which is uppermost in one's hierarchy of social values "functions" as a religion. The "religious" nature of patriotism and communism is a commonplace among historians.

together with the mingling of representatives from different cultures and social strata, dampeden the effect of tradition; that the exciting problems and rewards of exploiting a continent gave rise to that "materialism", "activism", and "pragmatism" which have so frequently been noted as characterizing even the idealism, religion, and philosophy of the American people.

In substantiation of this triple claim it is possible to cite many of the trends in American historical scholarship during the past half century. The Turner thesis in all its forms, with a contemporary culmination in Webb's *Great Frontier*, is among other things an assertion of the dampeden effect of authority and tradition. Likewise, Parrington, Curti, and others are unanimous in stressing the pervading materialism in American ideas and cultural development. The Turner thesis has been under fire from such men as Louis M. Hacker and has been supplemented by such authors as Cochran and Miller, but the striking feature of such revisionist interpretations is that whether it is sections, classes, or business enterprise which are to be emphasized, the subject matter of American history is declared to be that which demands in a special degree the tools of the economist for its full analysis and adequate interpretation.⁶

The Force of Capitalism

Of all the economic forces in American history, the student of ideologies will probably insist that "capitalism" is the one whose influence has been all-pervading. The word is purposely set off by quotation marks because the term so frequently takes its flavor, and even its essential meaning, from the personality of the one who uses it.⁷

To a matter-of-fact economist capitalism must mean something quite commonplace. The suffix "ism" to him can simply mean that the root word—in this instance "capital"—has been a force which has generated an activity and an effect. Thus, the role of capitalism in American history would mean the part played by that economic factor of production called "capital" in the eco-

⁶ References are to L. M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism*, and to T. C. Cochran and W. Miller, *The Age of Enterprise*. An interesting collection of pros and cons on the Turner thesis is G. R. Taylor (ed.), *The Turner Thesis*.

⁷ The historian who has done most to analyze capitalism in all its facets is Werner Sombart. A brief convenient reference is his article, "Capitalism", in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 3, 195-208. American scholars may tend to find Sombart's analysis stimulating, useful, but just a trifle too "categorical" in a manner quite common to German culture historians.

nomic and also total development of the American people. In this sense, it would be useful to distinguish between capitalism as a spirit and capitalism as external fact in the history of American human social activity.

Present-day economists, following the lead of many businessmen, tend to define capital as all the non-personal things necessary to carry on a business. Thus capital covers a multitude of things. The majority of modern firms require some "fixed capital" in the form of plant and equipment and some "working capital" in the shape of inventory, cash-on-hand, etc. Likewise there is the intangible capital value added by being a going concern, the initial cost of getting the business set up, creating goodwill, and obtaining a list of habitual customers.

In that hazy state of nature which eighteenth-century social scientists (and some historians) so loved to talk about, the noble savage was for all practical purposes capital-less.⁸ The human person was either all that was required to go into the business of producing for oneself or others, or else capital was a negligible part of the total requirements. This is in startling contrast to the fact of capital in our present American economy. For instance, to go into the iron and steel business today with a completely integrated steel plant would require a minimum of at least \$100 million! This present-day requirement is also in contrast to the America of only 150 years ago when a "big" iron producer would require capital of about \$30,000!

This is but one instance of capital as an external fact in American history, a fact spelled out by the technology of mass production. It is a fact to be recognized and accounted for in order to be a successful businessman; it is likewise a fact which every social institution in a complete society must allow for in order to function successfully. Specifically economic institutions such as those of finance, managerial organization, and labor personnel, have gone, and are still going through, a process of change and adaptation; these developments are summed up in discussions of the problems of corporate enterprise and the labor union. Political life is affected by new problems of control and regulation; social problems of total welfare, family organization, and the distribution of property ownership are likewise created.

⁸ The general historian is usually unaware of the role played by such "primitivism" in both classical and socialist thought. Any analytic use of primitivism should be weighed before the conclusions of either school of thought are accepted as an analysis of modern economic activity.

Capitalism as a spirit touches the intellectual life of man. The use of capital in production involves an increasing complexity of economic life. Economic opportunities become specifically profit opportunities which are open to those who can introduce some new element or arrange some new variation upon an old arrangement in the economic complex. Complexities lead to an exact precise calculation of profit and loss as businessmen begin to weigh an increasing number of alternatives. Specialization and thereby exchange become more detailed and thereby complex; the barter of the noble savage is replaced more and more by the use of money and monetary instruments; capital itself is measured more and more as a stream of money. Businesses, no matter how complex in the technology of production or management, can be treated in terms of receipts and payments of money, of the profit and loss of the financial statement.⁹ When seen in this light, the "profit motive," which ideologists clothe either with the aura of divine guidance or the miasma of social exploitation, becomes a humdrum analytic device by which the businessman can check his performance and sum up in a single statement the complexities of his livelihood.

But the use of capital creates intellectually a new social species of man as distinguishable from the noble savage as homo sapiens of physical anthropology is from *pithecanthropus erectus*. He is marked by a "rationalism" and an "acquisitive spirit" which are of different species from the intellectual inquiry and the selfish drives of "pre-capitalistic" societies.¹⁰

All real (as opposed to money) capital is originally some kind of natural resource worked up by human labor and ingenuity into an instrument for the profitable production of goods and services. The Columbian discovery was a part of such a capitalistic quest for a geographical resource to be used as a cheaper and more advantageous route to the Indies. The lord proprietors and honorable and worshipful companies which pioneered colonial development were of the same species of human kind.

⁹ The business historian who has done most notable work along this line is N.S.B. Gras. Two of his works are of special use here, *Industrial Evolution*, and *Business and Capitalism*. Useful also is his older *Introduction to Economic History*.

¹⁰ Men were "rationalistic" and "acquisitive" both before and without capitalism! But a "capitalist society" (In the Sombart sense) places new goals for rationalism and acquisitiveness and makes them principles of a larger number of social functions and processes.

Commercial capitalists such as John Jacob Astor, land promoters such as the almost legendary Daniel Boone, industrial capitalists such as Carnegie and Rockefeller, finance capitalists such as Gould or the Morgans, and let us not forget the many pioneer farmers, cattlemen and small town "boomers" as well, were the lords, knights, squires, valiant bowmen and menial lackeys in the Great American Quest for Opportunity.¹¹ It is a spirit whose imprint is one the whole of American history including the novels of Horatio Alger and Peter B. Kyne. The ever-popular "western" of motion picture screen and "pocketbook" display shelf is evidence of the existence of an American folklore of derring-do.

The Study of Economic Forces

If American historical study is to rise above the mere narrative of "that which was", a more extensive and intelligent use of economic tools of analysis will be needed.¹² In the world conflict of Russian Communism and Western Democracy Americans have been forced into the position of having to justify their civilization. Historians will be and have been called upon, not merely to relate but also to interpret, the developments of the past and the portents, as based upon the past, of present-day developments. If the claim advanced in this paper for the peculiar dominance of economic subject matter in American history is correct, the historian will not be able to perform this task without a grasp of the fundamental tools of economic analysis and interpretation.

History students who have attempted in college to include in their course of studies standard undergraduate courses in economics have frequently complained that they found little in the graphs, curves and stated principles to help them as historians. In general, courses dealing with economic development, social economics, economic geography, corporate enterprise, labor unionism, public finance, and economic history itself, will probably prove most useful.

¹¹ A useful collection of articles in this vein is Gail Kennedy (ed.), *Democracy and the Gospel of Wealth*.

¹² See my analysis of the various levels of historical analysis, *op. cit.*, 27-28.

¹³ In my opinion the best textbook of American economic history for its interpretative insights is E. C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life*, 4th ed. A very useful text which treats the "economic forces" in isolation is George Soule, *Economic Forces in American History*. Interesting recent essays are A. Youngson Brown, *The American Economy*, and S. B. Clough, *The American Way*. In spite of their titles, both works are historical interpretations.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MEDIEVAL

The Receipt of the Exchequer, 1377-1485, by Anthony Steel. New York. Cambridge University Press. 1954. \$11.50.

This is a highly specialized work of particular interest only to those doing research work in this period. What the author has done is to wade through the jumble of receipt records of the royal treasury and seek to come up with a time series analysis and commentary. It is a job which has required twenty-five years of work.

It is only in the present century of the study of national income and fiscal policy that historians have become fully aware of how important a link between economic and political history is furnished by a study of public finance. The Pirenne thesis is fundamentally a "fiscal" theory of medieval development with the exigencies of practical politics dictating, and in turn being influenced by, the socio-economic institutions collectively known as feudalism.

Professor Steel is to be commended in furnishing a guide for a more complete study of this link in an important period in English history.

Richard L. Porter, Rockhurst College.

The Renaissance: A History of Civilization in Italy from 1304-1576 A.D., by Will Durant. New York. Simon and Schuster. 1953. pp. xvi, 776. \$7.50.

This fifth volume in Durant's "Story of Civilization" follows his *Age of Faith . . . A.D. 325-1300*, which was more comprehensive in chronological, territorial, and topical scope. The present instalment is limited to Italy during two and a half centuries, and focuses its attention first on art, secondly on literature, and thirdly on political and religious leaders. Among references used most frequently Vasari, Symonds, and Pastor stand in a first rank, with Creighton, Villari, and Guicciardini in a second.

Vasari is the favorite. Not only does Durant draw many of his numerous anecdotes from this imaginative story-teller, but he also similarly concentrates on personalities, and manifests a zest for the dramatic and riské. The product is more a series of loosely related lives than a general historical survey. It is somewhat disjointed and "jumpy," to which condition the divided nature of Italy during the period contributes. It is perhaps "over popular" in its scent for the salacious. It often qualifies questionable stories and characterizations, but often also does not. It is packed with particulars. The author is a master of prose, and his style is brilliant. The narrative is often enriched by animadversions more philosophical than historical. Even though many of the anecdotes and details may be questionable, they usually trace back to Italians of the period, and thus illustrate important currents in the life and sentiment of the Italian Renaissance. Many of the stories and particulars related seem a bit trifling in a broad story of civilization.

Again the old question bobs up: "What is history?" Is it primarily an art or a science? Does it consist in the skilful telling of interesting and

illustrative anecdotes and particulars, including the suppositious as well as the certain? Or is it a chronologically and logically organized body of explicit or implicit generalizations, supported and exemplified only by well established, pertinent, and significant facts?

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria, by Georges Contenau. New York. St. Martin's Press. 1954. pp. xvi, 324. \$5.00.

Georges Contenau, one of the world's leading Assyriologists, has gathered together in this volume the fruits of his many years of study of the ancient cities along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. As he notes in the introduction, any attempt to describe the daily life of a people over many centuries would be quite meaningless. He has accordingly restricted himself to the years 700 B.C. to 530 B.C., a period which may be considered most typical of this civilization and of which we are best informed.

The book is divided into four chapters entitled: General Information, King and State, Mesopotamian Thought, and Religious Life. Numerous sub-headings in each chapter enable the reader to determine easily what phase of culture is being treated and make the work invaluable for reference. There is not only a wealth of information with regard to the Assyrians and the Babylonians, but numerous comparisons as well are drawn between their outlook on life and that of the Greeks and Egyptians and of contemporary men. The analysis of Assyrian art and the contrast made between it and the classical art of the Greeks is particularly fine. The soap employed by the Babylonians "was not unlike the soap in occupied Europe. As we all know, it was less a detergent than an abrasive" (p. 66). In a banquet relief from Khorsabad "all the guests are sitting on high stools with their feet off the ground, like people in modern bars" (pp. 132-133, with a drawing of the scene). The use of oil to anoint the body and hair common to all levels of society "served the double purpose both of softening the skin . . . and of destroying the vermin in the hair. The oil stifled the nits and the parasites, which were as heavy a scourge in ancient Mesopotamia as they are today in the East" (p. 65).

Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria should prove to be of great interest to all teachers and students of ancient history and to all who are concerned with our cultural inheritance from the past. With the conclusions of the book we must all agree: "The man of Mesopotamia . . . created a brilliant civilization, no less powerful than that of Egypt and of greater renown in Western Europe, which lies so deep in its debt. . . . The unrivalled fame of Babylon towered over the ancient world, and deservedly so: but how few of us would have chosen it as our home" (p. 302)!

Joseph Costelloe, Saint Louis University.

St. Anthony of the Desert, by Henri Queffelec. Trans. by James Whitall. New York. Dutton. 1954. pp. 251. \$3.75.

Since almost all medieval history textbooks and many of the monographs dealing with the various phases of later Roman as well as early medieval history treat of the origins of monasticism, there is almost always something written about St. Anthony of the Desert. That "something" is not

infrequently a bit far-fetched. It is with joy, then, that the teacher of medieval history finds at hand a life of St. Anthony suitable for both students and teachers not only for its common-sense and balanced presentation, but also for its well-written and sparkling prose style.

The work is firmly based (as every life of St. Anthony has to be) upon the life penned by St. Athanasius, but the author does not hesitate to prefer his own solutions or suggestions to some of the vexing problems of chronology or credulity which perplex the student of the origins of monasticism. Nor is he confined or cabined by the strait-jacket of materialism when it comes to the question of miracles; on the other hand, he does not show himself over-credulous. The real power of the biography lies in the vivid portrayal, from what evidences we have, of an actual Christian saint, hard on himself and kindly toward others, whose one consuming passion was to be an "Athlete of Christ"; but a saint whose humility increased with his austerity and whose kindly character shines out so clearly in the various incidents of his life which have come down to us.

In describing Anthony's early life, the author uses what knowledge historians have gathered about the life of the Egyptian peasants and well-to-do farmers in their small villages. Thus we see young Anthony being tutored by his father in the careful management of the large estates which will one day be his. Then, at the death of both father and mother, Anthony makes his decision "to break the chains of his riches" with "his day, in fact his whole life unrolled before him like a papyrus upon which he had to write". As the author rightly notes, "a child's first act is frequently that of giving; the second of taking back. . . . What must be admired in Anthony is not his spectacular first gesture, but his perseverance."

The apprenticeship to asceticism, Anthony's full development as a great "Athlete of Christ", his long stay in the solitudes of the desert, his two important journeys to Alexandria, one to comfort the martyrs-to-be who were in prison and the second to confute the heresy of Arius, who would have made of the Christ Anthony so loved, merely one of the Gnostic aberrations—all these are chronicled vividly and sympathetically, and the translation is so smoothly done that one forgets he is not reading an original. The book affords a pleasant meeting with the great Christian hero whose example so influenced his contemporaries that they and posterity have given him the name, Father of Monasticism.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

The Making of the Middle Ages, by R. W. Southern. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1953. \$5.00.

According to the *Oxford Dictionary* the verb "make" has more than one hundred usages. Adams, Dawson, Robinson and others have applied that verb to the Middle Ages, some applying it to the ethnic origins, others to the physical, others to the cultural and religious roots of that period. Mr. Southern centers his attention on the early Middle Ages, confining his studies largely to the years 972-1204. The book has five chapters, "Latin Christendom and Its Neighbors," "The Bonds of Society," "The Ordering

of the Christian Life," "The Tradition of Thought," "From Epic to Romance." Actually there are six themes dealt with in a way which leaves no doubt about the competency, fine scholarship and careful thought of the author. This is Mr. Southern's first book and it does credit to his teacher and guide, Sir Maurice Powicke.

First, Christian Europe in the tenth century corresponds very largely with Western Christian Europe of today in physical boundaries. During the period under discussion, Europe collided with the power of the Moslem world in the Mediterranean, in Syria and in the Holy Land. The West learned not to look with disdain on the power of Islam. Indeed by 1204, Islam was not only active but growing to immense power proportions.

Secondly, the Church in the West ran into a wall of solid loyalty in the Greek Church, a loyalty which no amount of physical coercion could break. The capture of Constantinople, the establishment of the Latin Patriarchate, the imposition of the Latin rite, the feudalizing of the land according to the pattern of the West, did not break that loyalty.

Thirdly, closely connected with the drive of the West toward the East is the lifting of the curtain of darkness which enabled the West a glimpse into the fabulous land of the Orient. Thus arose the story of Prester John which, in turn, played such a large part in early Franciscan and Dominican missionary stations in the East.

The extension of the western man's horizon raised questions for the scholar and the statesman. The scholar began to read Ptolemy and his Arab commentators and speculate about the bounds of the habitable world. The works of Gerbert came into prominence: men discussed time and space and the place of Heaven therein. The statesman wondered about the use of force against the heathen, the unbeliever and the schismatic. The stage was set for the missionary effort of St. Francis whose method, during the Fifth Crusade, was of peace and not of the sword.

Fourthly, man was, so to speak, on the frontier of speculation. He was about to come to grips with the main body of ancient science and metaphysics. Some of the new learning was disturbing to the traditional harmony of the Christian way of life and thought, so much so that a Provincial Council of Paris, in 1210, forbade the reading of and lecturing on Aristotle's works on Natural Science.

Fifthly, the best evidence of the extension of the boundaries of knowledge was the establishment of schools, fittingly called universities. The universities were international in character and charter; society was feeling the seeds of unrest which would one day level the feudal structure; monks were leaving their "homes" and their privacy to become part in an expanding whole. The tendency was from localism to universality.

Sixthly, logic was becoming the universal instrument, the mathematics of our day, the bond between all subjects and the solvent of all difficulties. It was an expression of men's striving toward the universal; it was the common factor in the changes of its day; it knew nothing of difference in place or time.

Mr. Southern has written an exceedingly good and thoughtful book which, we hope, will be widely read.

Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, Fordham University.

The deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and His Continuator Rahewin, tr. and annot. with an introduction by Charles C. Mierow, with the collaboration of Richard Emery. New York. Columbia University. 1953. pp. xii, 366. \$5.50.

In 1908, Princeton University published Charles C. Mierow's translation of Jordanes' *Deeds of the Goths*. In 1928, Columbia University published his rendition of Otto of Freising's *Two Cities*, as the sixth volume in its *Records of Civilization*. And now Columbia has published his version of Otto's *Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* as the forty-ninth volume of the same *Records*. . . . The distinguished classicist, former President of Colorado College, now Professor of Biography at Carleton College, may be characterized, in that tongue he knows so well, as a veteran translator who is "senex emeritus, inclitus triumphis." His careful translation of *The Deeds of Frederick*, with its illuminating Introduction, inserted dates (in brackets), and helpful footnotes, is both readable and reliable.

The scholarly Otto of Freising was a son of the Margrave of Austria and an uncle of Frederick I. After being educated in Paris, where he came to be an admirer of Aristotle, Otto became Bishop of Freising. He is regarded as one of the most outstanding historians of the twelfth century. In his *Two Cities*, completed in 1147, he surveyed world history to 1146 in a philosophical and somewhat tragic vein, with special emphasis on the troubled history of the Empire from the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century. In his *Deeds*, he continues the story at the Emperor's request, and his tone now is more optimistic. He seems cheered by the accession and initial successes of his nephew. Otto himself wrote the first two (out of four) books of the *Deeds*. Book I, by way of necessary background, sketches, with greater detail and length than in the earlier *Two Cities*, events from the first excommunication of Henry IV in 1076 to the death of Conrad III in 1152. It includes, by way of digression, an interesting account of the trial and acquittal of Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers at the Council of Rheims, despite the opposition of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Book II begins with the election of Frederick, and treats the first four years (1152-1156) of his reign. A large part of the book concerns Frederick's first expedition to Italy, his earlier, friendly relations with Pope Hadrian IV, and his overthrow of the revolutionary commune of Rome and his execution of Arnold of Brescia. In these first two books of the *Deeds*, which are his own composition, Otto apparently tries to live up to his ideal of the office of the historian, which he described in the Dedication of his *Two Cities*: "The art of the historian . . . avoids lies and selects the truth. . . . It is better to fall into the hands of men than to abandon the function of the historian by covering up what is distasteful with colors which conceal the truth."

Otto's part of the *Deeds* ended in 1156. The second half, written by Rahewin, consists of Books III and IV, and covers the years 1156-1160. Rahewin (whose career and work is discussed by Mierow in *The Classical Bulletin*, XXIX (1952), No. 1, pp. 4ff), was the trusted secretary and notary of Bishop Otto. He was commissioned to continue the writing of the *Deeds*, begun by his beloved and admired master. Despite his attestations of diffidence and certain shortcomings, he does a good job of it. Due to his

limited self-confidence, his digressions are less frequent and his quotations of primary documents more extensive. His greatest weakness is an overweening penchant for reduplicating the wording of classical authors, a trait common in his day. Thus his closing description of the appearance, character, and buildings of Frederick I consists largely of extracts from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* (itself based on Suetonius), the *Epistles* of Sidonius Apollinaris concerning the Visigothic Theodoric II, Jordanes on Attila in his *Getica*, and Josephus on the buildings of Herod in his *Wars*. Highlights of Raewin's part, in addition to the above, include the "beneficia" incident (the mention of "beneficia" conferred by Adrian IV in his letter read by Cardinal Roland at the Diet of Besancon), Frederick's articles for the governance of his army (1158), the acts of the famous Diet of Roncaglia in 1158, and the repeated repression of unruly Lombard communes by the Emperor, as well as his support of the antipope Victor IV against Alexander III. A brief Appendix of unknown authorship, possibly written by Raewin, lists certain important events for the years from 1160 to 1169 in annalistic fashion.

While the *Deeds* by Otto and Raewin are said to be our most important single source for the reign of Frederic Barbarossa, and while Mierow's annotated translation is a real contribution to scholarship in a field recently neglected by English speaking scholars, the work will appeal mostly to researchers and those in a post-graduate status.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

The Medieval Hungarian Historians . . ., by Carlile A. Macartney. Cambridge (Eng.). University Press. 1953. pp. xv, 190. \$5.00.

Professor Macartney is probably the world's leading English-speaking authority on Hungarian history, on which subject he has published several books and articles. The present work, surveying mediaeval Hungarian historiography, is divided into two parts. The first discusses the development of Hungarian historical tradition to the fourteenth century; the second analyzes in detail the principal surviving historical treatises produced in Hungary during this time. The first part is of general interest, inasmuch as it probably typifies the evolution of a considerable part of European historiography in the Middle Ages. High points include the pagan, heroic, oral tradition; the early Christian "foreign" historiography; the rise of a more patriotic and spirited native Hungarian Christian historiography; the effect of vicissitudes such as the thirteenth century Mongol incursions; and finally the influence of Renaissance concepts. The last point is mentioned but not discussed in detail, inasmuch as the survey does not really include the latter period. Throughout, there is, according to Macartney, a special interest in the personal, heroic, and monarchical, with a decided preference for the discussion of disputed successions. In the Analytical Guide (the second part), which comprises two-thirds of the work, Macartney discusses in detail over thirty different mediaeval historical treatises. In each case surviving manuscripts, printed editions, probable dates and authorship, sources, content, and value of the works are discussed. A summary of modern historical criticism, mostly Hungarian

and German, is given, to which the author contributes the conclusions of his own original studies. Greatest attention is paid to the Anonymi *Gesta Hungarorum*, Kezai Simon's *Gesta Hungarorum*, the *Chronicon Budense*, and the *Chronican Pictum Vindobonense*. Reference is also made to works, now lost, which are known to have been used in the composition of those which survive. They are alluded to under such designations as X, *P, *Ra, *Ra², and the like. Macartney's handbook, the fruit of several years of research, provides a scholarly introduction for the more intensive investigation on an advanced level of aspects of central European history in the Middle Ages.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

A History of Modern European Philosophy, by James Collins. Bruce Publishing Co. pp. 854. \$9.75.

Undergraduates who wish to get their first taste of the most influential streams of modern philosophical thought should surely feel indebted to Dr. Collins for this much needed text. For practically all the outstanding thinkers from the Renaissance down to the present day have been carefully selected, and their contributions to the heritage of wisdom have been skilfully summarized, and this in language which the veriest tyro should have little difficulty in assimilating.

At the same time this volume should prove extremely beneficial even to those who desire to drink more deeply of these modern Pierian springs without getting hopelessly engulfed in a maelstrom of contradictions. A splendid bibliography at the end of each chapter gives all the significant commentaries on these moderns; and a wealth of source material is provided for even the most meticulous research. Professors, too, will welcome this volume as a most desirable contribution, since it reduces the unwieldy bulk of modern philosophy to a compass that can be digested comfortably within the restricted limits of three or six semester hours.

If we single out some chapters for special commendation, we do not wish to imply that the others are imperfect or less well put together. The two dealing with the so-called fathers of modern philosophy, i.e. Francis Bacon and René Descartes, deserve this special mention; while those that present Immanuel Kant's metaphysics and ethical doctrines give evidence of very careful study and serious meditation. The presentation, too, of Hegel's otherwise unintelligible absolute idealism throws a penetrating pencil of light on what that specialist in oxymorons meant by the "Idea on its way to full self-realization." If that obscurantist were still alive today, he might perhaps be relieved of what tortured him most on his deathbed, *scil.*, "Only one man understood me, and even he really did not."

Of course, a review is always expected to point out some defects or at least possible improvements. If the present writer yields to this demand, it is surely not in a spirit of carping criticism, but merely to suggest points by which a later edition might be improved. What strikes the critical reader most of all is the fact that some of the most influential thinkers have been

omitted altogether, or dismissed with brief notice. Naturally every Tom, Dick and Harry in this field could not even be mentioned, but we cannot help regretting that the brilliant St. Thomas More was passed over in silence, and that Karl Marx was treated all too cursorily. While it is quite true that a veritable legion of studies on Marx have been elucidated in this 20th century, it is none the less true that dialectical materialism is in some way responsible for most of the evils under which we groan today.

We look in vain, too, for a more critical treatment of these thinkers, i.e. an appraisal of their contributions and especially of their glaring defects. More than that, we would like to see included in a study of this sort some schematic outline to point out the connections between all these contradictory systems. For it is all too obvious that English empiricism and continental rationalism run all through modern philosophy, and constantly reappear under a variety of disguises. The transcendental seer of Königsberg tried to unite these two streams in a so-called new synthesis; and in vigorous protest to all this transcendentalism the three great re-actions, sc. materialism, positivism and intuitionism, were excogitated by Marx, Comte and Bergson. Some such outline would pull all the tangled sleaves of modern thought into a unifying synthesis, and this latter is for beginners as well as for advanced students just as important as critical analysis.

Edmund H. Ziegelmeyer, Rockhurst College.

Robe and Sword: The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV, by Franklin L. Ford. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1953. pp. xii, 280. \$6.00.

Of the many problems which confront the ordinary American student of European history, one of the more perplexing is that of the role played by the aristocracy in any given country of Europe. Americans reared in a democratic milieu with its great emphasis on equality of opportunity usually find it quite difficult to obtain a working knowledge of a society built on social distinctions culminating in certain sacrosanct privileges for the honored few. This difficulty is increased when, in a country like France, the nobility itself passed through various phases and underwent important changes, such as, for example, the regaining by the nobles of the prestige and influence which had been seriously diminished during the reign of Louis XIV, and the ever growing importance of those who belonged to the *nobless de robe*.

Mr. Ford takes a long step in the direction of resolving the difficulty in this study which is primarily concerned with "a definite regrouping of politically significant elements at court, in the church, and in the army, around the high nobility of the robe" (p. 246). The author, making extensive use of the archives in France, both national and provincial, presents an excellent and very thorough study of the membership of the sovereign courts of France, the gradual but persistent rise of the nobles of the robe to a position of affluence, and the preparation of these same nobles for the task of the leadership of the nobility in an effort to reestablish itself as a force to be reckoned with in the government of France.

The thesis of Mr. Ford is presented so persuasively, and is backed up by an array of references, that it would be presumptuous for anyone less than an authority to question his conclusions. However, not everyone will find this book entertaining reading, but the serious student will receive immense help in resolving some of the standard difficulties which are associated with the study of the French nobility. The title is slightly misleading, as a perusal of the book will reveal that the author has concentrated on the analysis of the rise of the *noblesse de robe* with relatively little consideration of the part played by the nobles of the sword. Furthermore, the author, very wisely for his purpose, restricts himself to the study of the period following the death of Louis XIV in 1715, and chooses as his terminal date the year 1748 when that very influential member of the nobility of the robe, Montesquieu, first published his famous work, *Spirit of the Laws*. This specialized investigation which facilitates an understanding of the role played by the nobility in eighteenth century France is a welcome addition to the college library.

Harold L. Stansell, Regis College, Denver.

An Introduction to Political Philosophy, by A. R. M. Murray. New York. Philosophical Library. 1953. pp. 240. \$4.75.

This compact little volume is devoted to an examination of the principal theories advanced by political thinkers from Plato to Marx. Its distinguishing characteristic is the fact that it goes beyond a mere historical or descriptive survey of these various theories and attempts to define the basic assumptions on which they rest. It is with this objective in mind that Professor Murray begins his treatise with a chapter entitled "The Nature and Scope of Political Philosophy." In it, he points out that the essential purpose of political philosophy, as clearly demonstrated by the writings of representative thinkers, is to explain the justification of government and to define the moral principles prescribing what the methods and aims of politics ought to be. The author maintains no final answer can be given to these questions without first determining the logical or metaphysical foundations—or to put it more simply, the theory of knowledge—upon which a political philosophy must rest.

Such an approach is fundamentally sound as well as enlightening to the student who is concerned with both philosophy and politics. The difficulty with the present work, however, lies in the author's epistemological analysis and in the resultant choice of the alternative theories of knowledge which he presents. Setting forth two "different conceptions of the nature and function of human reason," he refers to one as the "Rationalist" and to the other as the "Empirical" theory. The former is taken to mean that truths can be established by the *a priori* insights of reason independently of sense experience; while the latter is said to assume that truths about the existing world can be determined only by the direct observation of the senses, and that nothing can be said to be true which is not empirically or scientifically verifiable.

The implications of such a choice are profound. If the first theory (which is characteristic of some form of idealism) is accepted, categorical answers can be given to all the problems of government by abstract reasoning without reference to the experience or to the historical context out of which

they arise. If the second is taken as true, no ultimate demonstration of the truth or falsity of the moral propositions underlying government can be given. Under the "rationalist" doctrine, the scope of political philosophy would be to discover these moral propositions by *a priori* reasoning completely free from sense-experience. Under "empiricism," reason would apply only hypothetically to experience so that no categorical demonstration of the truth or falsity of any proposition would be possible. Reason, in this latter view, would have an instrumental function only. It could tell us what means are likely to be most effective for the attainment of whatever ends we might desire, but it could not determine or prescribe the choice of these ends or tell us what we *ought* to do.

There is a third theory of knowledge, that espoused by Aristotelian-Thomistic thinkers, which the author fails to discuss. While an exposition of this concept is not possible here, suffice it to say that it rejects equally both "rationalism" and "empiricism" as the terms are generally understood. By holding that knowledge begins in the senses but goes beyond sense perception, and consists in the conformity of knower with the object known, this traditional theory disputes the "rationalist" doctrine that abstract reasoning divorced from the totality of experience can establish truths about reality. And by maintaining that the intellect and reason give us knowledge of the essences and properties of things—which are more than the mere enumerations or collections of relations we have experienced, it denies the empirical view that valid knowledge must be limited to sense knowledge. Such a theory also does away with the critical problem raised by Kant, a problem that plays a prominent part in the author's analysis of political history.

The emphasis upon "empiricism" and "rationalism" as the two alternative theories to the almost total exclusion of the Aristotelian-Thomistic view constitutes, in the opinion of this reviewer, a serious deficiency. In making this statement it should be emphasized that no criticism of Professor Murray's non-acceptance of the latter theory is intended. It is in his failure to discuss one of the major epistemological concepts, regardless of his views as to its validity, as a possible alternative for determining the nature and scope of political philosophy that objection is raised to his otherwise excellent work. For in all justice, it should be pointed out that the present book, based as it is on the author's classroom experience with beginning students in political theory, is refreshingly lucid and simple in its presentation, yet withal penetrating and scholarly. It can be read with profit by both the tyro and the veteran in the field of political philosophy.

Henry J. Schmandt, Saint Louis University.

British Colonial Developments, 1774-1834, edited by Vicent Harlow and Frederick Madden. Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1953. pp. xxi, 619. 35s.

The editors herein present a judiciously selected body of documentary sources designed to place in the hands of scholars and students basic materials especially those difficult of access. These sources are selected from British official and private papers and from the collections of other nations, especially France and America. Informational and bibliographical footnotes and an index make the volume an even more interesting and usable "tool".

The documents are arranged topically, with a chronological progression within the topical frame. The areas represented are: the development of British penetration into the Indian and Pacific Oceans, constitutional developments (particularly, that of the Crown colony), commercial developments, emigration and settlement, frontier problems, and humanitarian principles and policy. The development of the colonial system (with special reference to the West Indies and North America), the modification of the colonial system, and problems relating to foreign monopolies and free ports are all, among other things, indicated from the sources.

Policy and practice in regard to emigration, settlement, convict-colonists, and slaves, are also illustrated from the contemporary record. Frontier problems in the Pacific, West and South Africa, and North America are documented. Relative to the North American area the edited materials range from an unsigned memorandum in the Chatham papers of July, 1794, positing arguments for the consideration of fostering more agreeable relations with the United States, to excerpts from the Convention of 1818 which "implemented and supplemented" the Treaty of Ghent. (Incidentally, the North American section begins on page 477 rather than 576, as the table of contents would indicate.) For auxiliary readings and reference this one compact volume is a most useful source.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

Members of the Long Parliament, by D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1954. pp. xxi, 256. \$4.25.

This important book analyzes the membership of the House of Commons from 1640 to 1653. As Professor Tawney writes in his introduction (speaking of the recent attention of historians to the personnel of Parliament), "No previous work, however, has examined in detail the membership of the House of Commons which entered and emerged from the Civil War; nor, when due allowance has been made for the statistical uncertainties to which the authors call attention, is it easy to point to one providing for any period before the nineteenth century information comparable in range and precision with that here supplied." And as he indicates, the authors soon reach a plane of discourse "where figures, when available, suggest questions, but can hardly answer them. They include the character of the different social groups composing the House; the causes which, during the preceding century, had accelerated or retarded their growth; and the degree to which, when the hour of decision struck, not only personal convictions, but factors of a more external kind, whether family connections, regional loyalties, or economic interests, determined political alignments." All who are concerned with seventeenth-century English history, or the history of Parliament, will find this an invaluable contribution to the history of Parliament and the illumination of its rôle in the Civil War and Interregnum. There are six chapters: The Original Members, the Recruiters, the Rump, the Merchants, the Eastern Association, and the South-West, with a concluding chapter. Nearly 60 pages of appendix present tables of members according to region and party and age groups; the Stafford Election, 1645; Bibliography (a very useful and penetrating survey); counties and boroughs and their members; and an alphabetical list of members. There is a full, and apparently accurate, index.

This is not so complete a study as Prof. J. E. Neale's masterful work on Elizabeth's House of Commons, I think, but the problems for the historian are very different: they are more obscure, more complex, and more controversial for the Long Parliament. We learn very quickly that the two contending parties of Royalists and Parliamentarians both contained representatives from the old country families and the new merchants and traders, and both contained about the same proportion of members educated at Oxford and Cambridge and at the Third University, the Inns of Court. We find, too, that the Recruiters and the Rump differed very little from the original members in respect to economic and social groupings. And we come to share very strongly the authors' conviction that "until we know more of these things [and questions about the lands and owners, patterns of social and economic development] it is well to be very guarded in explanations of the causes and consequences of the Revolution."

Yet this is far more than a casting of the nets of historical research with only negative results to show; this book does open new vistas, and Prof. Tawney rightly praises the infectious interest in its pages. It is then at once a monograph of solidity and persuasion on an important historical problem (and as such would, no doubt, satisfy Acton's injunction to young historians), it is a readable essay in historical interpretation, and it is a valuable example for younger workers in *Methodenlehre*. It earns an important place for itself on the shelves of both teacher and student of English history.

R. J. Schoeck, Cornell University.

English Historical Documents, Volume VIII, 1660-1714, edited by Andrew Browning. N. Y. Oxford University Press. 1953. pp. xxxii, 966. \$17.50

This volume is a most worthy contribution to the monumental project *English Historical Documents* under the general editorship of David C. Douglas. Covering a critical half-century of the Stuart regime, Professor Browning presents his selections under ten groupings: the monarchy, parliament, public finance, the church, local government and social life, trade and plantations, Scotland, Ireland, armed forces, and personalities. Each part has an introduction and bibliographical note. Besides, the editor has incorporated into this volume a number of genealogical tables, diagrams (for instance, illustrating the growth of the national debt and the fluctuation in wheat prices), appendices (such as a discussion concerning the problem of reckoning time due to the various usages of the day), more than a score of maps, and an index.

The basic and important official acts of the government are reproduced herein as well as peripheral materials from other than official sources. Cases in point are the contemporary accounts of life in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Indies, reports on the vagaries of the weather and the disasters of plague and fire, and comments on sports and crime. The sources range from official documents to personal observations and poetry. Titus Oates, for example, is characterized in excerpts from Roger North and John Dryden's poem "Absalom and Achitophel."

Professor Browning has performed a great service and has fulfilled his purpose of making accessible valuable and pertinent records to scholar and

student unable to investigate the originals. To the teacher this volume should prove especially helpful as a source for coordinated or supplementary reading assignments.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University

Catherine of Siena, by Sigrid Undset. New York. Sheed and Ward. 1954.
293 pp. \$3.50.

In 1887 Augusta Theodosia Drane remarked in the preface of her *History of St. Catherine of Siena* that there existed at that time more than sixty lives of the saint composed in various languages. Most of these, as she noted, were translations of the original *Legend* of Raymond of Capua, the confessor and trusted friend of Catherine. Since then interest in this extraordinary figure of the fourteenth century has mounted and her career has been studied from a variety of viewpoints. A *Società internazionale degli studi Cateriniani* was founded and *L'Istituto storico Italiano per il medio evo* began in 1940 a critical edition of the saint's letters, long known to English readers in Vida Scudder's translation. There are several biographies and even a recent novel. And no wonder. A simple town girl, a *popolana* who played so remarkable a role during the period of the Avignon papacy and the beginning of the schism as did Catherine Benincasa, would inevitably attract attention. But there must also be considered—and this constitutes the "problem" of Catherine's career—her extraordinary mystical life with its unusual psychic and physical manifestations. Indeed, she was a puzzle and not infrequently an embarrassment in her own time, a time more ready to accept such outward evidences of sanctity than our own.

It is clear, therefore, that Sigrid Undset did not pioneer in uncharted regions. She has, however, in this her last work, produced a unique book. It is not a conventional historical biography. Although there is ample evidence of a familiarity with the literature, both contemporary and modern, there is no critical apparatus whatever: no bibliography, notes, or index. Rather, this is a meditative study of Catherine's life and of its meaning for her own time and for today. And since the author was one of the foremost literary figures of our times, a woman steeped in the lore of the middle ages, and a devout and intelligent Catholic, the result is stimulating in an unusual way. Miss Undset pondered deeply the role of women in society in different historical periods. She was aware of, but not confused by, modern psychological approaches to mystical phenomena. It is clear, too, from this book that the public career of Catherine, her dealings with popes and governments, is only a part, and perhaps not the most important part of her life. For this was preceded by early years of retirement from the world. Further, even in her busy later years she was ever that rare combination of the contemplative and the active. A modern biographer, R. Fawtier, finding himself unable to treat of the saint's mystical experiences asked a colleague, L. Canet, to undertake the latter. The result, *La Double expérience de Catherine Benincasa* (Paris, 1948), is really two biographies. (See the reviews of this and previous studies by Fawtier in *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique*, XII 1925, XXIX 1933, and XLIV 1949.) But Saint Catherine was not two persons. It is true, as Miss Undset pointed out that "seldom or never do we see such unusual symptoms in

conjunction not only with a high degree of intelligence, but also with robust common sense, with unlimited ability to take upon oneself all kinds of hard work and trouble, with interest for the well being of other people, and no interest whatsoever in one's own comfort or welfare (p. 291)." Nevertheless, her biography testifies to the essential unity of Catherine's personality.

In view of the interpretive nature of Sigrid Undset's work it is perhaps ungracious to point out any shortcomings in the historical treatment. The sketches of contemporary affairs are adequate for the author's purpose and for the average reader. It remains true, however, that the student or teacher of history will need to seek elsewhere for the background material necessary for a full understanding of Catherine's time. The author's view of the Avignon papacy, for example, is that of holy souls like Dante or Catherine herself. It was an inexcusable scandal. Nevertheless, there were many circumstances which, if they do not excuse, go far toward explaining the "captivity." And I know of no support for the statement that Clement V lent to the kings of France and England "money to make war against each other and ruin their own miserable countries (pp. 117-18)." That the pope lent those monarchs money is undeniable, but one of the reasons for postponing the return to Rome was Clement's desire to end the strife between the two countries. The dealings of John XXII—incidentally one of the ablest of popes—with the Franciscans are not clearly explained. Possibly these are minor matters, and as already remarked, not the author's main concern. And possibly, too, the publisher should be blamed for a conspicuous typographical error on page 234, for several incorrect renderings of Italian phrases, and for a generous number of pages bound together unsymmetrically.

Kate Austin-Lund has given a felicitous translation from the original Norwegian and has, therefore, gained a wider audience for this thoughtful and provocative essay on a unique historical figure.

Marshall W. Baldwin, New York University.

Economic History of Great Britain, by W. Stanford Reid. New York.
Ronald. 1954. pp. x, 557. \$6.00.

Twenty years ago the study of British economic history was more prevalent in the United States than it is today. Since then it has become more common to take a course in general European economic history, usually since 1750. The advantages of the study of development on the broader continental stage are evident; however, the result has been that the typical American undergraduate leaves his study with generalizations which are too broad to be useful. British economic history furnishes an excellent case study for a semester's work: the evolution from manor to "grand commerce" to modern large-scale industry can be followed step by step, and the industrial stage itself portrays the complete cycle from innovation to maturity and even to a type of national economic senescence.

The author has done an excellent job of furnishing a solid textbook for such a course. The factual basis of British economic development is told and interwoven with a brief account of British economic, philosophical and religious thought. The more recent period is stressed—about two-thirds of the book is given to the period since 1715—but the account of medieval and early development is fully adequate. The language and style are clear

and designed to interest the average student. Unfamiliar terms of the medieval and early modern period are immediately explained by placing the more familiar modern term in a parenthesis or footnote.

This book can be recommended without qualification as a highly useful classroom instrument. A student using this book can be expected to master the fundamental development on the basis of which the instructor can proceed to build those points of interpretation and emphasis which he considers important. Of course, most instructors will find points of disagreement with Professor Reid, but every viewpoint here expressed is a solid and well-balanced one.

Richard L. Porter, Rockhurst College.

Catherine the Great and Other Studies, by G. P. Gooch. London. Longmans, Green and Co. 1954. pp. xi, 292. 21/-

For more than fifty years Professor Gooch has been writing learned books and articles, all of them done in the excellent literary style so many of the English historians have mastered. The latest of Gooch's works consists of three studies of subjects in the Age of Enlightenment and a masterful review—in the nineteenth-century style—of Bismarck's memoirs. The studies are on Catherine the Great, four French salons of the age, and Voltaire as an historian. They are well written, full of anecdote and witty observation, and they carry with them the flavor of the Age of Enlightenment.

Professor Gooch has dealt with this age for half a century, almost, one might say, lived in it. These studies are therefore fully sympathetic with the subjects analyzed. They are written in the tradition of John Morely, and they assume that the Enlightenment was essentially what its champions thought it was. Such an assumption, unfortunately, ignores the scholarship of the last three or four decades. Professor Gooch's book is at once delightful and annoying. It is delightful reading and it has the aroma of the age in its pages; it is annoying, however, for being so long out-of-date. Except for the publication date and the jacket, the reader somehow feels he has in his hands a book written in 1904 instead of 1954.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

AMERICAN

Padre Pro, by Fanchón Royer. New York. P. J. Kennedy & Sons. 1954. pp. 248. \$3.50.

The story of this young Jesuit priest, who was apprehended and shot during the Calles period of the Mexican Revolution, is a delightful piece of writing. Miguel Agustín Pro has become one of, if not the, symbol of Catholic resistance to anti-Church campaign which has periodically bloodied the pages of the history of Mexico's revolutionary movement. He died before a firing squad on November 23, 1927. Mexican Catholics revere Father Pro as a martyr to the faith and have introduced his cause for beatification and, they feel confident, eventual sainthood.

The author has given us an engaging picture of this remarkable modern Mexican. Relying on a number of lives and reminiscences of him which

have appeared in Spanish, this work is sound. Many of Father Pro's close associates are still alive, men who knew him intimately, who passed many years of their Jesuit lives with him, or who dealt with him during his short apostolic career as a priest in his homeland. Much of the history of the troubled times has been woven into the biographical account to make this a quite useful historical work. The author feels deeply regarding the subject of her book but regularly writes with a restraint which enhances the value of the work.

John Francis Bannon, Saint Louis University.

Bela Schick and the World of Children, by Antoni Gronowicz. New York. Abelard-Schuman. 1954. pp. 216. \$3.75.

The authorized biography of Bela Schick, the distinguished scientist and pediatrician whose researches resulted in the establishment of the test that bears his name, the Schick Test, for determining the susceptibility to diphtheria, and the many developments of the theories of immunity, brings closer to us the delightful personality of a man who loves life and lives to love all mankind, especially children. In some respects the biography is inadequate as it leaves undescribed many aspects of Schick's very full life; such aspects, for example, as his attitude towards religion, his views on Semitism, on cultural education, on the many problems of pediatric practice, and on many phases of the physician's life. It is too formal to be a popular biography. The discovery of a few errors makes one cautious about accepting the book as it stands. Thus the author speaks of the first children's hospital in the world, and dates that hospital as 1802 (page 26); he quotes Schick as saying that medicine was systematically opposed by religion, meaning Buddhism (page 24); again he quotes Schick as equating the present hopelessness in Europe to the social consequences of the Spanish Inquisition. Some of the quotations, especially the longer ones, would probably be quite meaningless to the non-scientific reader; still the book is interesting, informative, stimulating, and educational, giving to the reader, as it does, not merely facts, but viewpoints and outlooks from which a thoughtful reader can derive much mental enlargement. Lastly, the book must be credited with competence in delineating Schick's contributions to pediatrics.

The book is mainly reliable in reporting details of Schick's scientific work; it is less so when discussing Schick's opinions on cultural topics; it is least adequate when presenting Schick's convictions on matters philosophical and religious.

Alphonse M. Schwitalla, Saint Louis University.

Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase, edited by David Donald. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1954. pp. ix, 342. \$6.50.

Despite the title (which may suggest one of John Gunther's quick cruises into the interior of some entity), Professor David Donald has made a worth-while contribution to the rapidly growing body of Civil War literature. Actually, the sub-title seems to be more accurately descriptive of the contents; namely, the war-time diaries of Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's Secretary of Treasury and Chief Justice.

It may seem strange that a complete edition of Chase's daily notations for this period has not been previously made, but for various reasons, such is the case. Accordingly, Professor Donald—he is an Associate Professor of History at Columbia University—has, in producing the work, rendered a service to scholarship.

The diary entries echo many of the phenomena of the war period: the military pretensions of political leaders, including Chase; the political activities of many military leaders, Chase's friends included; the rivalries and high ambitions of some of the Cabinet; Chase's own hope for the presidency; the diversified political opinions of the North; divided counsel on the Trent Affair; growing sentiment for Emancipation; preoccupation with the 1864 election; Chase's appointment as Chief Justice; and, finally, the disorder following Lincoln's assassination.

Students of history who are especially social-minded will regret that Chase did not record more about his private life or the doings of his daughter, Kate, who became one of the leaders of Washington society. On the other hand, the very concentration on political and military matters will please those readers who are primarily interested in these latter aspects of the war period.

Not all the months of the Civil War period have been covered, since Chase does not seem to have recorded entries before December, 1861, nor in early 1864. Too, the account, in general, is a bit uneven; this is not the fault of Editor Donald, but rather in the nature of the diaries themselves. Some parts provide a smooth narrative; other sections are interspersed with a cataloguing of visits to Chase by various people of minor significance. Such unevenness rather preserves the flavor of Civil War events, moving as they did at an unsteady pace.

Donald provides an explanatory introduction for each chapter, and also seeks to identify in his foot-notes the many public figures mentioned by Chase. (The present reviewer feels, however, that the footnotes would have been more serviceable if listed at the bottom of each page, rather than all grouped together at the end of the book) A rather complete index helps to round out the volume's usefulness.

Clifford J. Reutter, University of Detroit.

The American Revolution, 1775-1783, by John Richard Alden. New York.
Harper & Brothers, 1954. pp. xviii, 294. \$5.00.

Professor Alden's study of the Revolution is one of the first volumes to be published in the New American Nation Series, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard Brandon Morris, which is intended to supersede the old American Nation Series of twenty-seven volumes edited by Albert Bushnell Hart some fifty years ago. Although some of the works in the original publication still remain classics, many have long since been outmoded, and all need to be revised to incorporate the findings of the two generations of historical scholars since their appearance.

Professor Alden, author of a number of significant publications in Revolutionary history, evinces a sure touch and a mastery of its voluminous literature. In the limited space allotted him, he has presented in seventeen chapters a balanced account of the military, diplomatic, political, constitutional, social, and economic aspects of the Revolution. More than usual

attention has been devoted to the British and European phases of the struggle with distinctly happy results. His chapters on Revolutionary diplomacy make up one of the finest brief summaries of the subject to be found anywhere. His chapter on "The Home Front" likewise deserves special commendation.

The treatment of British policy and the Loyalists is scrupulously fair and takes into account the revisionist writings of recent years, but the author writes with the avowed belief "that the thought and conduct of the American patriots are ultimately defensible, that the Declaration of Independence is in the last analysis justifiable." Professor Alden also differs with many recent writers in taking a more favorable view of the accomplishments of the Continental Congress. On the numerous minor questions of dispute, he unfailingly presents both points of view to the reader.

The text is supplemented by thirty-two illustrations (photographic reproductions of portraits, paintings, and cartoons), eleven excellent maps of military campaigns, a fifteen-page bibliography, and an index. The bibliography, though selective, furnishes the student with a good brief guide to the major sources and writings, while the introduction by the editors of the series emphasizes the enduring significance of the American Revolution and the changing approach to historical writings on the subject.

Though Professor Alden's book lacks some of the readability of Claude Halstead Van Tyne's volume in the earlier series, it definitely supersedes the latter. The teacher, the student, and the general reader will find the book an excellent one-volume summary of the most recent scholarship in the field.

Sanford W. Higginbotham, University of Mississippi.

Woodrow Wilson and the Rebirth of Poland, 1914-1920: A Study in the Influence on American Policy of Minority Groups of Foreign Origin, by Louis L. Gerson. Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 58. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1953. pp. xi, 166. \$4.00.

With the first of Mr. Gerson's theses, that the rebirth of Poland after World War I was an eventuality not realizable by the efforts of the Poles themselves, there can be no dispute. As he writes, that rebirth could have been effected only by a remarkable concurrence of circumstances. Of the three powers which had partitioned Poland, two, Germany and Austria-Hungary were at war with the third, Russia. The defeat of the two and the Bolshevik revolution in the third were needed to make the re-establishment of an independent Poland with an extent comparable to that which it had before the partitions. Mr. Gerson's analysis of the division of opinion among the poles in Russia, Germany and Austria over the desirability of independence and of the methods to achieve it well substantiate his thesis.

A second thesis that the rebirth was due to Woodrow Wilson seems true only to the extent that President Wilson was responsible for bringing the United States into World War I thus assuring the defeat of the Central Powers. The collapse of Russia cannot be ascribed to Wilson, and had not Russia collapsed, Russian Poland certainly would not have been included in a new Poland. After the collapse of Russia the most interested supporter of a big Poland was France, for France was anxious to reduce the size of

Germany and to set up on Germany's eastern borders a nation big enough to be a cause of concern to Germany as well as a *cordon sanitaire* against Bolshevism.

Woodrow Wilson's contribution to the creation of the new Poland seems to be little if any more significant than his part in the establishment of any of the succession states. But Mr. Gerson does show that Wilson, Col. House, and Herbert Hoover, and the American experts were largely responsible for Paderewski's being made premier, that Paderewski stayed in power only as long as there was American support.

As to the effect or influence of the Poles as a minority group on American policy this study is not so satisfying. There is an analysis of the divisions among the Poles in America and an account of the process, in part questionable, by which the Polish National Committee headed by Roman Dmowski in Paris, and so ably represented in America by Paderewski, got itself recognized as the spokesman for Poland, and also made the interests of Poland in Europe superior for Poles in America to the welfare of the United States. There is a good account, based on Wilson and House manuscripts, of the influence of Paderewski on Americans in general and on Col. House in particular. There is nothing on any pressure brought to bear on Congressmen other than that Representative Gallagher and Senator Hitchcock were persuaded to introduce resolutions for the recognition of Polish independence. But Gallagher's district is not even identified, and only in the appendix would one find that Hitchcock was from Nebraska and that there were many Poles in Nebraska. The records of Polish organizations do not seem to have been consulted, and Parks, *The Immigrant Press* is the source for the activities of the Polish press.

The Essay on Authorities is superior to the ordinary listing in a bibliography, but there, as well as throughout the book, the author reveals a bias towards the "liberal" approach. The clergy seem always to be on the unapproved side whether their activities in the Old World or in the New World are being treated.

That the "certain Doctor Paderewski" referred to in the quotation from Pilsudski's writing was Ignace Jan Paderewski seems quite unlikely (p. 105). Nor do the stenographic reports of the May 17, 1918, meeting referred to in note 24, page 109, make it clear that the letter in question had been written to Paderewski in January when Paderewski was trying to be made premier. Typographical errors are very few except in the appendix where there are several. The study is very worthwhile as far as it goes. One can hope that the project will be pursued further to fill the gaps, correct and clarify.

P. Raymond Nielson, The Creighton University.

A History of the Southern Confederacy, by Clement Eaton. New York.
The Macmillan Company. 1954. pp. ix, 351. \$5.50.

Equipped with Southern birth, a Northern doctorate, and present status as professor at a border state university, Clement Eaton is well fitted to view the history of the Confederacy with both sympathy and detachment. He is also experienced at compressing a multitude of complex events into a compact and vivid narrative, as attested by *A History of the Old South* (1949).

Mr. Eaton's survey of the Confederacy, while one of the briefest available, is admirable. Assembling the conclusions from the most recent monographic scholarship, the book also embodies a vast amount of primary research by the author himself. It treats aspects of Confederate history often omitted or slighted—for example, the wartime lot of different groups in Southern society, their culture, and morale. Even in its consideration of the military, the book severely compresses the accounts of individual battles in order to present more adequately problems of broad strategy and the crucial subject of logistics.

Half of the volume's fourteen chapters focus on the military theme. Only three of these seven describe battles; the other four deal with the organization of the army, the traits of Confederate soldiers, the materiel of war and how it was obtained, brief but critical portraits of leading generals, grand strategy, and the war on ocean and river. The seven non-military chapters describe the formation of the Confederacy and summarize its political, diplomatic, social, intellectual, economic, and "morale" history.

The balance maintained in the presentation of the various facets of Confederate experience is a commendable feature of Mr. Eaton's work.

The book is provocative as well as informative, for the University of Kentucky professor holds firm convictions about the nature of the War for Southern Independence and about many events and persons within it. On page after page one finds sharply critical judgments about the way Confederate affairs were handled. Civil administration was "feeble" with such important factors as the railroads, manufacturing, and blockade-running given woefully inadequate organization. In the military sphere the grey troops were improperly dispersed, the western front was sadly neglected, staffs provided for generals were too small and unskilled, liaison between commanders and their subordinates was poor.

Secession was brought about by radicalism of emotion rising to support extreme conservatism of the dominant Southern thought, Mr. Eaton believes. The war was lost on account of a breakdown in Confederate morale. Why did this occur? For a multitude of subtle and interrelated reasons, Mr. Eaton thinks; the explanation of this theme is one of the chief purposes of his excellent book.

James Harvey Young, Emory University.

Americans Interpret Their Civil War, by Thomas J. Pressly. Princeton, New Jersey. Princeton University Press. 1954. pp. xvi, 347. \$5.00.

This study in the history of ideas is the first exhaustive treatment of the causes and meanings of the sectional conflict of 1861-65. Previous to the appearance of this volume, the most complete treatment was by Howard K. Beale, "What Historians Have Said about the Causes of the Civil War," Social Science Research Council Bulletin 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study* (New York, 1946), 53-102. In this new title the changing interpretation of the war is traced with careful objectivity through the writings of historians from the crisis of 1860-61 to the present. There emerges strong evidence that the personal backgrounds of authors are important factors in their understanding of history as are the interests and outlook of their contemporaries. The continuing sharp controversy in

reading meaning into Civil War issues, another current of this study, would seem to indicate that the war involved problems of lasting significance in the history of the nation. Each generation argued anew the interpretation of the conflict with no more success in arriving at a consensus than its predecessors.

No student of the Civil War can afford to miss this significant book. A tremendous amount of effort and no small degree of ability went into its preparation, with the result that the research is completely adequate, the comprehension unusually profound, and the style both stimulating and readable. This thoroughly documented volume is concluded by a bibliographical note and a good index. The page format and binding are superior. This study will not need to be done again.

LeRoy H. Fischer, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

George Washington's America, by John Tebbel. New York. E. P. Dutton and Company. 1954. pp. 478. \$5.00.

This is a book about the America that George Washington saw, and the Washington that 18th century America met. It is far from being a conventional biography of the first president. Rather, it might be identified as a Washington travelogue.

Although Washington, especially as a soldier, travelled a great deal, the area in which he moved was limited. He was repeatedly invited to go to Europe, but he never saw that continent. Indeed, on only one occasion did he leave the American mainland, and that was for a short visit to the Barbados which he, along with his half-brother, Lawrence, made in early manhood. It was not too happy a visitation; for George was stricken with smallpox and nearly died. Washington never got closer to the Northwest than the site of Fort Le Boeuf (present Waterford, Pennsylvania) where he delivered the historic message to the French commander on the eve of the last Colonial war in 1753.

In organizing his material, Mr. Tebbel avoids a strict chronological approach in favor of one that considers Washington's activities in a given geographic area. Then the author moves his hero to another region. And then to another. At times this is confusing, if not mildly irritating to the reader. Thus (p. 295) we have Washington, the president, leaving New York City for the last time in 1790. As the reader starts the next section of the book, "Washington in Philadelphia" (p. 297) he goes back to 1757 when Washington visited that city as a colonel in the Virginia provincial militia. Historical continuity is injured by such an arrangement of the subject matter. It should be added, however, that "A Washington Chronology" near the end of the volume might help to straighten out an addled reader.

In Mr. Tebbel's book, the phrase "George Washington Slept Here" is something more than a gag-line for stage, motion picture, and radio comedians. The author devotes abundant attention to the places where Washington slept—and ate and entertained and danced.

With regard to sleeping, the soldier-president spent nights in many, many different places during his travels. And for the most part, he slept well and comfortably. Actually, in his whole lifetime, Washington experienced inferior sleeping accommodations on only a few occasions. One of these occurred when as a teen-ager he was on a surveying expedition on the

frontier. Here he was really put out by a bed with "nothing but a little straw matted together, without sheets or anything else but only a threadbare blanket, with double its weight of vermin, such as lice, fleas, etc." But even at Valley Forge, the accommodations were "tolerably comfortable," as Martha Washington noted.

Experts on Washington may find little new in this volume. This is admitted by the author who draws much of his material from his subject's *Diaries and Writings* as well as the definitive Washington study by Douglas Southall Freeman. However, the so-called "general reader" will profit from this book which certainly is recommended for supplementary reading in college or even upper-level high school history classes.

This is getting to be almost embarrassing. It seems that almost every time that this reviewer has contributed a piece to *The Historical Bulletin* he has protested the absence of needed maps in the volume under discussion. Here we go again! A work such as the one by Mr. Tebbel should include more than the solitary, folded, black and white map which is not encountered until the reader is practically at the back cover of the book. This amiable and pleasant travelogue demands better cartography than that with which it is endowed.

Richard L. Beyer, Gannon College.

Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History in the City of New York, by Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris. 2d. ed. New York.

The first edition of this *Guide* was published in 1929. Since that time considerable new material has been gathered and the old better organized so that a new edition bringing the findings up-to-date is most welcome. The bibliographer well knows the tremendous amount of material to be found in the various depositories in the City of New York, but until the appearance of the *Guide* the location of the material was a major research project in itself. The arrangement by topic is extremely helpful, but the index by page number alone leaves much to be desired. It still seems that numbered individual entries is best form of organizing a bibliography of such magnitude. This, however, is but a minor criticism of a well revised and attractively printed source book that should be of great value to the research student and a must for any library which prides itself on its holdings in the field of American History.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor, by Rear Admiral A. Theobald, U.S.N. (Ret.). New York. Devin-Adair. 1954. pp. xvii, 202. \$3.50.

Admiral Theobald, an old gunnery officer, herein directs a thundering salvo at a very elusive target. Whether or not he has scored a direct hit may still be a matter of question. He may not have demolished all opposition.

The admiral, in this analysis of "the Washington contribution to the Japanese attack," quite frankly writes as a lawyer intent on proving a thesis. His thesis, in reasoned argument, is that the attack on Pearl Harbor was deliberately maneuvered by the president. To this he adds the question whether or not it was necessary to pay that price.

The gist of his argument is that, considering the character and military experience of the commanders (army and naval) in Washington, alerted to the growing tension between the United States and Japan, knowing the historical record of Japan's moves into war and the limited number of primary targets in the Pacific, their action and inaction are explicable only on the assumption that they were obeying orders from a higher superior—the commander-in-chief. As one reads the admiral's pointed analysis a feeling grows that his real purpose is to remove, as far as possible, responsibility, and consequent liability, from the military, and especially the naval, commanders, and thus is an interested party in the case. The critical points center around the questions of the insufficiency of the war warnings given to the commanders in the field and the deliberateness of the denial of the now-famous "Magic" messages.

The argument is straight-forward enough but, despite this, there is still room for doubt on the part of some that the author presents the *only* explanation of the facts. In this, as in many other arguments, the present volume will consolidate the opinion of those favoring the thesis and will probably not convince those who take an opposing view. One of the more significant things about this presentation is that it comes from a ranking and capable naval officer rather than from a political partisan or a revisionist historian.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

Gulf to the Rockies, by Richard C. Overton. Austin. University of Texas. 1953. pp. xiii, 410. \$5.00.

Professor Overton needs no introduction to the student of railroad transportation in the United States. His earlier works on the story of the Burlington Road have established his place among the scholars, and his activity in the Lexington Group of the American Historical Association have done much to promote the interest and work of others. In this volume he has given us a further development of the picture of the Burlington system. *Gulf to the Rockies* is the story of the heritage of the Fort Worth and Denver, and of the Colorado and Southern Railroads. The struggle for Denver is told, but not in all its detail, and a further study of the problem will be welcomed. Perhaps Overton is too lenient when criticizing the business practices of some of the moguls of the time, and he certainly goes overboard in his admiration for Grenville Dodge. One note of interest is that even Professor Overton, with all his background and familiarity with railroad finance, admits that there are some transactions that he cannot fathom. The work is well written and adequately illustrated with good documentation and a full index. It might well serve as a model for the story of other railroad enterprises.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is intended to be of service to teachers and students of history by presenting a fairly complete list of historical works announced or published since the previous issue of *The Historical Bulletin*. Many of these books will be reviewed in this or a later issue. Unfortunately sometimes the price and number of pages were not obtainable.

MEDIEVAL

- Baldwin, M. W., *The Mediaeval Church*. Cornell Univ. pp. 133. \$1.25. In this book, one of the *Development of Western Civilization* series, we have an interesting and sympathetic essay on the organization and significance of the Roman Church from about the ninth to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The importance of the parish priest in the feudal age is especially brought out. The special significance of Cluny, Gregory VII, and St. Bernard in the reform of society is indicated. The fairness with which the author presents the papal monarchy and the popes and political power is most commendable.
- Barbi, M., *Life of Dante*. Univ. of Calif. pp. 139. \$3.00.
- Berenson, B., *The Arch of Constantine*. Macmillan. pp. 160. \$4.00.
- Bolgar, R. R., *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries*. Cambridge Univ. pp. 598. \$8.50.
- Dunlop, D. M., *History of the Jewish Khazars*. Princeton. pp. 308. \$5.00. This book traces the Khazar beginnings, possible relations with the Persians from Islam, contacts with Arabs and Greeks, conversion to Judaism, relations with Russia and final collapse and disappearance of the Khazar state located between the lower Volga and northern Caucasus.
- Dupont, J., and Gnudi, C., *Gothic Painting*. Skira. pp. 215. \$20.00.
- Finley, M. F., *The World of Odysseus*. Viking. pp. 191. \$3.00.
- Horton and Hopper, *Backgrounds of European Literature*. Appleton. pp. 476. \$3.25.
- Huizinga, J., *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, Doubleday. pp. 362. \$.95.
- Lethbridge, T. C., *The Painted Men*. Phil. Lib. pp. 207. \$6.00. This work is the partly imaginative recreation of the life and battles of the Ancient Picts of England by an archeologist.
- Lewis, E., *Medieval Political Ideas*. 2v. Knopf. \$12.50.
- Mary Just, Sister, *Rome and Russia*. Newman. pp. 236. \$3.00.
- Maynard, T., *St. Benedict*. Kenedy, pp. 255. \$3.00.
- McDonnell, E. W., *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture*. Rutgers. pp. 660. \$10.00.
- O'Hanlon, Sister M. A., *St. Dominic, Servant, but Friend*. Herder. pp. 191. \$2.00.
- Powicke, F. M., *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*. Oxford. pp. 843. \$8.00.
- Queffelec, Henri, *Saint Anthony of the Desert*. Dutton. pp. 251. \$3.75.
- Robinson, C. A., *Ancient History*. Macmillan. pp. 761. \$6.00. This text presents a vivid and readable account of ancient history and later Roman

history down to the death of Justinian in 565 and it should prove especially helpful to teachers of survey history courses for whom the telescoping of Roman and Greek history into "three easy lectures" will always be a problem. The author's treatment will also be a real aid in supplementing the survey text in instances where this is the only presentation of ancient history which the college student receives. Reader interest is increased by the use of original citation from the classical historians (Herodotus on Marathon) and concrete details ("the Helots compelled to wear dogskin caps and mantles of sheep-skin"), and there are many excellent photographic illustrations. Unfortunately, in the last chapter too much territory was covered and the consequent brevity has produced statements which need much qualification, as is evident in the treatment of the development of Christianity, monasticism, the barbarian invasions, etc. It would also be helpful to have had a critical bibliography. On the whole, however, it is a well done book.

- Runciman, S., *A History of the Crusades*. Cambridge Univ. pp. 530. \$6.50.
 Sarton, G., *Ancient Science and Modern Civilization*. Univ. of Nebr. pp. 111.
 \$2.50 paper.
 Sarton, G., *Galen of Pergamon*. Univ. of Kans. pp. 112. \$2.50.
 Stephenson, C., *Medieval Institutions*. Cornell, pp. 303. \$5.00.
 Torrey, C. C., *The Chronicler's History of Israel*. Yale, pp. 241. \$5.00.
 Unterkircher, F., *La Miniature Autrichienne*. Heinman, pp. 106. \$2.75. This small book with four plates in color, sixty-four in black and white and a brief introduction, presents significant examples of the development of the miniature art in Austria from 750 to about 1400. By means of an opaque projector it could aid the history teacher in presenting examples of medieval art.
 West, A., *The Crusades*. Random. pp. 185. \$1.50. Written for children, this brief story of the crusades is surprisingly historical despite its brevity and necessarily simple style.
 Winston, R., *Charlemagne*. Bobbs-Merrill. pp. 346. \$3.75.

MODERN

- Anderson, E. N., *Social and Political Conflict in Prussia, 1858-1864*. Univ. of Nebr. pp. 455. \$5.00.
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